

*Tibbat three hundred and sixty-five years ago.*—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY,  
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At the present time the exploration fever in Asia appears to be chiefly directed towards Tibbat,<sup>1</sup> miscalled “Thibet,” “Tibet,” and the like, therefore it may be interesting to give an account of that region—of its western and northern portions chiefly—as it was seen by its first explorer nearly four centuries since.

I refer to the Mughal Prince, the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Gūrgān, of the Dōghl-āt tribe of the Mughals, son of the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥusain, the Gūrgān, who held the Government of Shāsh, or Tāsh-kand, on the part of the sovereign of Kāshghar, to whom he was related, Muḥammad Ḥaidar’s father being descended from Amīr, Bulācī, the first Amīr of Kāshghar who embraced the Muḥammadan faith. Sultān Sa’id Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar and Khutan, and their dependencies, at the period I am writing about, and in whose service Muḥammad Ḥaidar was, and to whom he was also related, married his sister, and gave him his own sister in marriage, hence Muḥammad Ḥaidar, like his father, and many others, not Amīr Timūr alone, as has been commonly supposed, is styled *Gūrgān*, that is to say, one who has married into the family of the reigning sovereign. Muḥammad Ḥaidar’s mother, likewise, was the younger sister of Zāhiru-d-dīn, Muḥammad Bābar’s mother, they being the daughters of Yūnas Khān, who held the Government of Andijān, the capital of which was Shāsh or Tāsh-kand, and who was a direct descendant of Caghatāe Khān, one of the sons of the Cingiz or Great Khān of the Mughals.

Before giving Mīrzā Ḥaidar’s account of Tibbat<sup>1</sup> it may be well to refer briefly to what the old Muḥammadan writers say about it, but,

<sup>1</sup> The word is spelt by all eastern writers, <sup>تبت</sup>—Tibbat—and in no other way.

The actual meaning of the word is “fine wool,” which is obtained from the roots of the hair of goats, and which is woven into fine and soft fabrics—*shāls*—which is the signification of this latter word.

unfortunately, they are much more brief in their accounts than we could have desired.

‘Ubaidu-l-lāh, son of ‘Abdu-l-lāh, son of Khurdād-Bih, who died in 300 H. (912 A.D.), in his *Kitābu-l-akhbar*, as quoted by the Gardāizī in his *Zainu-l-akhbar*, mentions the well-known tradition of the Ḥamīrī rulers of Yaman in Arabia having invaded Māwarāu-n-nahr, and also of the invasion of Tibbat by one of the same race. ‘Ubaidu-l-lāh states, that there was a prominent man among the Banī Ḥamīr whose name was Ṣābit, who was much trusted and depended upon by the Maliks of Yaman, whom they style Tubbā’yawa’. On Tubba’ conferring the lieutenantcy, or vice-royalty of the country upon Ṣābit, the latter’s mother sent him a missive, saying: “One of the Tubbā’yawa’ set out towards the east, and used great efforts until he reached a country the verdure of which was gold, and its earth musk, and its grass (herbage) incense [fragrance, also the plant cinque foil, called the “Khik-i-Maryam” or “Panjah-i-Maryam—the Virgin Mary’s Palm,”], its game the musk deer, its mountains snow, and its plains most pleasant.” When Ṣābit read this missive he became very desirous of proceeding thither; and having fitted out a large army, he set out towards that country. When he reached Tibbat he found that all he had been told was correct. \* \* \* \* He remained in that part, and got the title of Khāqān. \* \* \* \* But the route into Tibbat from Khutan,<sup>1</sup> until you come out on it, lies over lofty mountains, which contain inhabitants, and in those mountains are numerous animals, consisting of sheep, cattle, and wild sheep.<sup>2</sup> From thence you reach Sālsān [سلسان in another *MS.*], beyond which a bridge has been placed from one side of a mountain to another.<sup>3</sup> They say in

<sup>1</sup> Khutan, not “Khoten,” for the letters with which it is written will not admit of such a mode of writing or pronunciation—according to the Tibbatī traditions, was anciently called *Wu-than*, at which period it was one of the strongholds of Buddhism. “Counting the *wihārs* in and outside the city of *Wu-than*, there were sixty large *wihārs*, ninety-five of medium size, and four-hundred and forty-eight temples.” See “*Journal*” for 1886, page 195.

<sup>2</sup> The *qucqār*, also called the snow sheep.

<sup>3</sup> When Mīrzā Abā Bīkr, defeated by Sulṭān Sa‘īd Khān in 920 H. (1514 A.D.), had to fly from Yār-kand, he retired to Khutan, but finding it was impossible to remain there, he retired towards the Qarā-naqū Tāgh. On arriving there, hearing that the Mughals were in pursuit, he again fled after destroying as much of his immense baggage as he could, and pouring his treasures into the river Akāsh, which flows through Qarā-naqū Tāgh, from the top of the bridge; as the road was very narrow, and his flight was impeded by the immense amount of baggage and treasure, he took only such things along with him as could conveniently pass by that narrow route. He then set out; and when his pursuers reached his last halting place, they found that he had crossed the Qarā-naqū Tāgh, and had entered Tibbat.

this wise, that the Khutan people erected it in ancient times. Beyond this bridge of Tibbat Khāqān, there is a mountain range, that, when people begin to ascend it, it will take their breath away [*dam-i-mardamān ba-gīrad*. The name of this malady it will be observed, is *dam-gīrī* from Persian *dam*, 'breath', and *gīrī*, 'taking', 'seizing', etc., from the verb '*giriftan*' to seize, etc.], so that they cannot breathe, and their tongues become heavy, and many persons die thereof. The people of Tibbat call this range the Kōh-i-Zahr, or Poison Range. When people proceed to Kāshghar from thence [Tibbat], they go by a direct route between two ranges of mountains to the east [sic. in *MS.*], and pass over it, and reach a tract of country which they call Ūz-kand. This tract is forty *farsakhs* in extent, and half of it is mountain, and the other half is very rough and furrowed.

The chronicler, Abū Ja'far, Muḥammadu-t-tabarī, who wrote about the same time as the writer just quoted, relates, that Shamir, surnamed Zū-l-janāḥ, a nephew of Tubba'u-l-aṣghar, the Ḥamīrī king of Yaman, invaded China. It came about in this wise, that the ruler of Hind sent his ambassador to Shamir with presents, consisting of silken fabrics, frankincense, musk, and other rarities. Shamir inquired if all these precious things were the produce of Hind, and was told that most of them came from Cīn, a country the 'Arabs had not before heard of. Shamir was so stimulated from the account given to him of Cīn, that he resolved to undertake an expedition into that country. Some other writers, like 'U**ba**id**u**-l-lā**ḥ**, just quoted, say, that Shamir was commanded to undertake this expedition by one of the kings of Yaman, whom the others say was Tubba'u-l-aṣghar, but he lived many years subsequent to Shamir. The Ḥamīrī prince is said to have led an army under one hundred standards, and under each standard were one thousand men, across the Jihūn from the territory of Balkh, and from thence to the frontiers of Hind,<sup>1</sup> where he himself remained while he despatched part of his forces against Cīn. This force having been defeated by the Cīnis, Shamir resolved to proceed in person with the rest of his army, and he set out through the country of Turkistān, skirting the territory of Tibbat, in which he left a force of 12,000 men as a reserve. Shamir succeeded in Cīn, and returned from thence

The name of this mountain still exists, but, in Walker's map of Turkistān it appears as the name of a halting place, under the name of "*Karangotak*," about one hundred and three miles south of Khutan, and the bridge over the Akāsh river was immediately north of it. The narrow route, and the bridge appears to be the same as noticed above.

<sup>1</sup> The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says he went by way of Kābul to the frontiers of Hind.

through Turkistān towards Hind [the borders are doubtless meant, and by a different route from that by which he went], with a vast amount of booty; and from thence conducted his forces back to Yaman, having been absent on this expedition for a period of seven years. “Those 12,000 men were never withdrawn from the skirts of the territory of Tibbat; and vestiges of them are still to be found in Turkistān in that direction.” The Tājzīks of Tūrān are their probable descendants.

Shamir is also said to have destroyed, at the outset of this expedition, the ancient capital of the Sughd, and to have founded another town in its place, which was named Shamir-kand, *kand* in Turkī meaning a town, which ‘Arabs change to *qand*, and which in course of time grew into a city, and its name to Samr-qand. According to the chroniclers quoted, Shamir lived in the time of Kai-Guštāsib and Bahman, rulers of Ī-rān-Zamīn. It was the former who removed Bukht-un-Naşsar (Nebuchadnezzar) from the government of Bābal, for his cruelty towards the Banī Isrā‘īl.

The ‘Ajā’ibu-l-baladān says much the same as ut-Ṭabarī respecting the Tubbā’yawa’ invasion.

The “Kitāb-i-Masālik wa Mamālik” says: “If one desires to proceed from the east [Cīn] towards the west, by the country of the Nāemāns, the territory of Khirkhīz, the Taghar-i-Ghuzz, and Kimāk, towards the sea, it is a journey of nearly four months. \* \* \* \* The country of Tibbat lies between the land of Khirkhīz and the kingdom of Cīn. Cīn lies between the sea, the land of the Ghuzz, and Tibbat, etc.”

Ibn Ḥauqal who finished his work in 366 H. (976 A.D.), states, that *he saw* a gate at Samr-qand, the front of which was overlaid with iron, and on it was an inscription in the Ḥamīrī language, saying, that “from San‘a to Shamar, or Samr-qand, is a distance of one thousand *farsakhs*.”

The Tasmiyatu-l-baladān says that in those early times Samr-qand was called Cīn!

In his history, entitled the “Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī,” the Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, first refers to Tibbat in the following words.<sup>1</sup>

“On the west side of Kāshghar likewise, a great range extends, which branches off from the mountain ranges of Mughalistān, and runs from the north towards the south. The writer of this work has traversed the mazes of this great range for a distance of six months’ journey, and even then had not reached the extremity thereof, as will presently be explained.” \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> I may mention that I translated this account of Tibbat from Mīrzā Ḥaidar’s work some seventeen years ago; and other extracts have appeared in the *Translation of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, and my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc.

He subsequently gives the following account of his expedition into Tibbat, which I will render in his own words.

ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY WAR IN TIBBAT.

“Sultān Sa‘īd Khān having come to the determination of undertaking a holy war against the infidels of Tibbat, it is necessary to give some account of that country. It lies in such a position that few travellers can manage to reach it, on account of the exceeding difficulty of the routes. It is a maze of mountains and valleys, rough, and furrowed with formidable passes and tremendous defiles; and is, in every respect, a most difficult and inhospitable region. What from the excessive keenness of the air, the paucity of forage, the scarcity of fuel, and the lawless and obdurate people who infest the routes and plunder those who happen to fall in their way, there are few travellers who have effected a passage through it.<sup>1</sup> It is on this account, probably, that Tibbat is not mentioned in such trustworthy books as the “*Mu‘aj-jamu-l-baladān*,” the “*Jām-i-Gītī*,” the “*Mulḥaqāt-i-Ṣūrah*,” and others, the authors of which have not described Tibbat as other countries have been described therein, and have contented themselves with a brief summary respecting it, but from which, what Tibbat really is, is not to be gathered in the least. For this reason, I have the boldness here to endeavour to show and set forth what the territories included in Tibbat really consist of, and to furnish other information respecting it which is not obtainable from books.

“The region called Tibbat is a vast tract of country in length between north and west (N. W.), and south and east (S. E.), eight months’ journey, but the breadth of which does not exceed a month’s journey, and not less than ten days’ journey.<sup>2</sup> The north-west boundary adjoins Bilaur, the position of which has been previously given; and on the south-east Tibbat extends to Khōjū and Sālār, which are among the dependencies of Kanjān Qū-ī of Khīṭā, as has been already detailed in the account which I have given of the mountain ranges of Mughalistān and Kāshghar;<sup>3</sup> for the principal mountain range of

<sup>1</sup> But in these days, the “new woman” finds her way all about this, as well as other out-of-the-way countries, not liking ‘home.’

<sup>2</sup> The Tibbatī writers consider all Tibbat to constitute what is known to the ancient writers as “*Jambu Dwīpa* ;” and that to the east and north-east of Tibbat Proper, that is, “U” and “Thsang,” lies in the country of Great Tibbat. “Central Tibbat” they called “*Dvus*,” the first and last letters of which in italics, according to the Tibbatī mode of writing, are not pronounced.

<sup>3</sup> In the same way as with regard to Tibbat, people will, down to almost the most recent traveller, persist in calling this place and its territory “*Kashgar*,” which, of course, is incorrect. We can from this imagine how other names must be vitiated by them.

Mughalīstān,<sup>1</sup> the whole of which branches out in different directions, passes north of Kāshghar, bends down to the west of that territory, and then bending southwards again, passes south of Kāshghar. The territory of Farghānah also lies to the westward of Kāshghar, and this very range here referred to lies between them. Thus the portion lying between Kāshghar and Farghānah is called Ālāe. Badakhshān lies to the west of Yār-kand, and there likewise the range in question lies between; and this last portion of it, lying between Yār-kand and Badakhshān is called the Pā-mīr,<sup>2</sup> which, in some places, is seven or eight days' journey in breadth. After it passes beyond this [southwards], there are some of the mountain skirts [hill tracts] of Yār-kand, which adjoin Bilaur, such as Rās-kām and Tāgh-i-Dūm Bāsh. When it has passed beyond this again, then comes the region of Tibbat. Badakhshān lies on the summer west [*i.e.*, the direction in which the sun sets in the height of summer] of Yār-kand, as previously mentioned, and Kashmīr lies on the winter west of Yār-kand; and the very same range of mountains runs between them. That portion of it which lies between Yār-kand and Kashmīr, is that part of the region of Tibbat which is known as Bāltī.<sup>3</sup> In the same manner as this range is very broad from the Ālāe Pā-Mīr, in Bāltī it is still more so, being twenty days' journey in breadth. For example, the pass ascending into it on the side of Yār-kand is the 'Uqbah, or Pass, of Sānjū, and that for descending from it towards Kashmīr is the 'Uqbah, or Pass, of Skārdū or Iskārdū, and between these two Passes the distance is twenty days' journey. In the same way, on the winter west of Khutan some of the districts and provinces of Hind lie, such as Lāhōr, Sultān-pūr, and Māci-Wārah; and that same range of mountains previously mentioned lies between. That portion which lies between Khutan, and the before-mentioned places [*i.e.*, between Khutan and Hind] belongs to the country of Tibbat, such as Ardūk, Kōkah, and Asbatī.

“In the same manner, it is necessary to understand, that west and south of the great range which I have previously mentioned as termi-

<sup>1</sup> Which the Chinese style Thian-Shān.

<sup>2</sup> In one of his recent letters—the last I think—to *The Times* on “The Pamir Question,” M. Vambéry says: “I must begin by alluding to the rather curious fact that the name Pamir, as a geographical denomination, is utterly unknown in Turkestan. It does not occur in any of the historical records extant.” Here is a proof of it, as may be found in many “records extant;” but no such term applied to it as “Bām-i-Dunya (roof of the world)” can be shown in any oriental record whatever: the term is a purely European invention.

See my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc., page 295–307, for what Bilaur consists of, and where it lies.

<sup>3</sup> In another place he says Bāltī is a territory lying between Bilaur and Tibbat.

nating on the south-east as far as Khojū and Sālār, dependencies of Qāmjū and Sukjū-i of Khiṭā,<sup>1</sup> is Hindūstān; and that from Bahrah and Lāhor to Bangālah, the whole lie on the southern skirts of this great mountain range. All the rivers of Hind flow out of it; and the whole of the region of Tibbat follows, and is conformable with, the courses of all those rivers [on those sides]. To the north and east of Tibbat are Yār-kand, Khutan, Jar-jān [“Chárchand” of A—K’s explorations and map], Lōb, Kanak, and the Sārīgh Ī-ghūr, and the rest is sandy desert, the boundary of which adjoins Qām-cū and Sukjū-i of Khiṭā.

The rivers issuing from the mountains of Tibbat flowing towards the west and south, are all rivers of Hind, such as the Nil-Āb, the Āb-i-Bahrah [the Bihat or Jihlam], the Cin-āb, the Āb-i-Lāhōr [the Rāwī], the Āb-i-Sultān-pūr [the Bīah, which in the author’s day flowed close to Sultān-pūr], and the Āb-i-Bij-Wārah [the Sutlaj?], the combined volumes of which rivers signify, in other words, the Daryā-i-Sind [Indus]. On the other hand, the Jūn [or Yamūnā, *vul.* “Jamna,”], the Gang, and other rivers, all enter Bangālah, and unite with the ocean; and all that flow out of the mountains of Tibbat towards the east and north, such as the river of Yār-kand [Zar-Afshān],<sup>2</sup> the Āq-Qāsh, the Qarā-

<sup>1</sup> The Fanakatī says: “What the people themselves call Khān-zjū Khān-qūe, which the Mughals call Jāqūt, or Jah-qūt, and Hindūs call Cin, and we people of Māwarā-un-Nahr call Khiṭā or Khiṭāe.” See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 912.

<sup>2</sup> In the article on the “Pevtsof Expedition,” in the *Geographical Journal*, for July, 1893, we learn with respect to the “Yarkand-daria,” that the Russian spies were unable to carry their observations farther south than “Ish-debeh”:—“Unfortunately no contemporaneous observations were made, and therefore no positive conclusions could be formed. The Yarkand-daria is the chief river of Eastern Turkestan; its course is upwards of 1,300 miles long, and the determination of its sources is an interesting geographical problem,” page 62.

As to this “problem,” Mīrzā Ḥaidar says, in another part of his work, that “The water of the river of Yār-kand is the best of the waters of the world (in purity), and all the praises which physicians and sages have bestowed upon it are true and just. At the distance of one month’s journey it issues from the mountains of Tibbat, and originates from the melting of snow and ice [from a glacier?], and flows from south towards the north over rocks and sand, and with great swiftness. When it reaches Sārīq Kōl, which is the name of a well known territory of Kāshghar, its rapidity increases, and it dashes, and is dashed, against rocks and stones, and flows towards the east for a distance of seven days’ journey, until it reaches more level, open ground, and then flows for a distance of two days’ journey more in a stony, rocky bed, with great rapidity, until it reaches Yār-kand,” etc., etc.

According to the Survey Report, written nearly a century since, repeatedly quoted by me in my *Notes on Afghānistān*, “the interesting geographical problem” was then solved. It states, that after leaving the pass over the Qarā-Quram range towards Yār-kand, instead of keeping towards the north towards the

Qāsh, the Āb-i-Kirīah [“Kiria” of A—K’s explorations], and Āb-i-Jar-jān,<sup>1</sup> all empty themselves into the Lōb Nāwar [or Lōb Lake, which geographers will persist in calling *Lob-nor*<sup>2</sup>], which Lōb Nāwar is a great lake in the vast sandy desert tract which has been previously referred to. From some Mughals who knew this lake, I heard that it takes three months to go round about it, and that from the lower part of it issues a great river which is known by the name of the Qarā Nūrān [Mūrān?] of *Khiṭāe*.

“From this description it will appear that Tibbat occupies a very elevated position, because the waters issuing from it, all fall down in every direction; and from whatever side a person desires to enter Tibbat, it is necessary to do so by ascending lofty passes which have no subsequent descent; and when you reach the summits the ground is comparatively level.<sup>3</sup> In some of the passes there may be a little

Sānjū Pass, you keep more to the left, and in four stages reach Kahaplū-Aghzah (referring probably to the place of many spurs, or many mouths or exits, and ascents).

Leaving Kahaplū-Aghzā (the “Kapaloong” of some maps), another five stages take you to Cirāgh Shāh, (the “Chiraghsaldee” of some maps), another now desolate halting place; so called after some Sayyid, and by the way, meet with much water, and many grassy tracts. There are springs of water here in all directions; and the water from them having united, and having been joined by other small tributaries, flows towards the north, towards Yār-kand, and receives the name of Zar-Afshān.—“The Disperser or Scatterer of Gold.” It is after this that its velocity becomes so great.

The next stage onwards from Cirāgh Shāh leads over the Kūdū Dabān, or Dawān, or Pass (the “Yangee *Dewan*” of some maps, and Yangi Pass of others). Dabān or Dawān—‘b’ and ‘w’ being interchangeable is the Turkish for a pass. This pass is of great elevation, and here the territory of Tibbat-i-Kalān or Great Tibbat terminates.

<sup>1</sup> As Mīrzā Haidar makes a difference between the letters ‘j’ and ‘c’ when necessary, I have left his words as they are written. This place is A—K’s “Chār-chand,” but I prefer the Mīrzā’s mode of writing.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāwar* is the Turkī for a lake, not *Nōr*. Vast physical changes must have taken place since the Mīrzā wrote; for we are told, that, according to the statements of M. Bonvalot, “it may be said that Lōb-Nōr has no existence in name or in fact; that there only exists beds of reeds and sand dunes, and that the largest sheet of water is called the Kara Buran.”

The “Kara Buran” here mentioned, is Mīrzā Haidar’s great river, the Qarā Nūrān [Mūrān?].

<sup>3</sup> Although Mīrzā Haidar does not expressly mention by name “the newly-discovered Altyn-tagħ mountains [the Āltān Tāgh, or Āltān range]” of Prejevalsky, and the discovery that “the northern barrier of the Tibetan plateau,” advanced “to the meridian of Lōb Nōr 3° farther to the north than had hitherto been supposed,” but from what he says here, the Mīrzā was perfectly cognizant that Tibbat extended thus far north, and that its northern barrier consisted of mountains—a cross



inclination downwards, but not much. On this account Tibbat is excessively cold, in such wise, that in most places, with the exception of barley and turnips, nothing else is cultivated. The barley, too, is such as is for the most part grown and ripened in the short space of forty days, if at first, the cold of a long winter does not prevent the seed coming up soon. In most places in Tibbat grass continues green for two months; and in some places therein, although the summer season is nominally forty days, it is after such a fashion, that, after midnight, the rivers and streams freeze; and throughout Tibbat the keenness of the air is so great, that no tree, indeed not even grass, attains any height: all is stunted in growth.

“The inhabitants of Tibbat are separated into two divisions. One is called *Bōl-Pā*, that is to say, dwellers in villages or hamlets, and the other *canbah*, that is *ṣahrā-nishīn* or nomads; and they pay obedience to one or other of the governments or provinces of Tibbat. These nomad people have some astonishing customs, such as are not followed by other races of people. The first is, that they devour flesh and all other food in a raw state, and have no custom of cooking whatever.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, in place of corn, they give their horses flesh; and thirdly, all their burdens, baggage, utensils, and the like, they put on the backs of sheep, each of which carries a load of about twelve legal *manns*.<sup>2</sup> The sheep have saddle bags, crupper, and breastplate, fitted and fastened on to them, and they load them with as much as they can possibly carry. They never take off these loads except out of necessity [from the beginning to the end of a journey]; and winter and summer the load is kept fastened upon their backs.

range—stretching from the Pā-mīr portion of the great range he has described, for several degrees farther eastwards, and passing Lōb Nāwar on the south. Indeed, the middle route from Yār-kand by *Khutan* to *Khiṭāe* in those days skirted the northern slopes of that very range; and the Cingiz *Khān* returning from the neighbourhood of Peshāwar by Bāmīān and Buqlān into Māwarā-n-Nahr and Turkistān, moved against Tingqūt by this same route. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, note to page 981.

The Fanakati, in his history, says, with reference to the excessive elevation of Tibbat and its mountains, that the following line of the poet, Firdausī, is applicable to them, for from them

“Of the fish [which supports the world] thou seest the belly, and of the moon the back.”

<sup>1</sup> Grueber also says: “The people of Barantola are very slovenly, for that neither men, nor women, wear shirts, or lie in beds, but sleep on the ground: That they eat their meat raw, and never wash their hands or faces,” etc.

<sup>2</sup> The *mann* is a small one, and varies, it is said, in Tibbat, from 2lbs. to 6lbs. Hamilton says, in his account of Bengal and its trade with Tibbat, that the load for a sheep is from 12 to 20 lbs.

“The mode of life of the Canbahs or nomads is after this manner. In winter they descend from the mountain parts before named towards the west and south, which is Hindūstān, and bring down with them Khiṭāe goods, and musk, and *tanah-kār* or *tanah-gār* [borax], *māh-farfīn* [purslain], *qūṭās* [*yāk* tails], gold, and *shāl* [fabrics], which are Tibbatī goods and merchandize,<sup>1</sup> and carry on traffic with the Hindūs of the mountain skirts of Hindūstān. From thence these Canbahs purchase and take home with them goods and manufactures of Hindūstān, such as clothing [piece goods for clothing], sweets, rice, wheat, etc., with which they load their sheep, and in the spring set out on their return to Tibbat, there being forage obtainable then, and their sheep numerous. They proceed leisurely, allowing the sheep to graze by the way, without interruption, and without stoppage, and reach Tibbat in the summer. Then, collecting such produce of Tibbat as may be saleable in Khiṭāe, they load their sheep and convey these articles, along with the products of Hindūstān they had brought with them [over and above what they required for home use], and set out towards Khiṭāe, and spend the following winter therein. Having then disposed of their Hindī and Tibbatī goods, they again collect the products of Khiṭāe, and set out for Tibbat in the following spring, and again reach it in the summer. They then collect such products of Tibbat as they require, and with them and the Khiṭāe ladings, they descend as before into the lower hill tracts of Hindūstān; and there they receive the hire for the conveyance of goods into Khiṭāe; and the hire for what they carry from Hindūstān they receive in Khiṭāe. Thus they pass one winter in Hindūstān and the next one in Khiṭāe alternately. This is the custom followed by the whole of the Canbah. There are some of them who may have conveyed 10,000 sheep loads; and from the rate of twelve *manns* to each sheep, one can compute what is the extent of traffic, and what amount of goods they convey once a year from Hindūstān to Khiṭāe, and *vice versâ*. At all times these loads and burdens accompany them wherever they go, except in case of any affliction or misfortune befalling them; and thus the loads they place on their sheep in Khiṭāe they only remove when they reach Hindūstān, and in the same manner when they return from thence to Tibbat and Khiṭāe again. I have never heard of such customs among any other people, and in many places it would scarcely be believed.

“These Canbah or nomads are a numerous people: for example, one tribe among them, whom they style Dol-bah, will amount to above

<sup>1</sup> Père Regis says: “The chief commodities in which the inhabitants trade with neighbouring countries, are Musk, Rhubarb, Worm-seed, and Furs. The most excellent Rhubarb comes from hence.

50,000 families,<sup>1</sup> and like this tribe there are several others. The writer has made inquiry among the most trustworthy persons among them, respecting the number of these Canbahs or nomads, and their answer was, that they were unable to say, for that God alone knew the number of them.

“The dwellers in villages, or sedentary people, who are styled Bol-pā, are distributed among certain territories, such for example as Bālti, which is one of the territories of Tibbat, and that comprehends several other [smaller] territories or districts such as Pūrīk and Ḥābūlah, and Shigā, and Skārdū or Iskārdū, and Ladāqs.<sup>2</sup> Each of these contain forts, stations, and villages (with their lands). Those parts of the region of Tibbat which I have myself seen, the greater number of which were either taken by force of arms, or were acquired possession of after some endeavours by voluntary surrender, are some parts of Bālti, Zan-skār, Mār-yol,<sup>3</sup> Yūdaq, Kōkah, Lō, Pōrās, Rōngah, Mankāb, Zīrsū or Zersū, Kāngār, Nīsān or Naisān, Yam, Alā Lāe Lōng, Tōk-ō-Lābōk, Asbarak or Asabarak, the whole of which I have traversed. From Asbarak people proceed to Bangālah in twenty-four stages; and Ūrsāng lies east of Asbarak, and Bangālah lies south of it. Ūrsāng is the place to which throughout Khiṭāe and Tibbat, they turn to, to pray, and is the most sacred temple of those people. What the writer has heard concerning it, being impossible of verification by him, is consequently not recorded, and possibly most of it is untrue. In short, it is the seat of learning, and city of the monks of Khiṭāe and Tibbat.

IN EXPLANATION OF THE WONDERS OF, AND DIFFERENT PLACES IN, TIBBAT.

“Of this region of Tibbat which I have myself seen, the manners and customs of its people are after such a fashion, that, notwithstanding I much desire to give a full description of them, I find it impossible to do so. However, I will record some of the astonishing things which I have beheld, or which, time after time, have been verified in my presence, on account of their strangeness. Among these, one is the gold mines. In most places frequented by the Canbahs there are gold mines; indeed in most of the Tibbat territory there is gold. Among these are two wonderful mines. One is in what is called Āltūn-cī Tibbat by the

<sup>1</sup> The people called the white and black tent nomads in the Index to the revised sheets of A—K's explorations are, doubtless, the Canbahs here noticed.

<sup>2</sup> The Tibbatīs, in their writings, spell this word much the same as Mirzā Ḥaidar — “Ladāg” and “Ladvāgs” (the last letter in italics not being sounded; and they call the fort thereof “Sles-mkhar.”

<sup>3</sup> Mis-called, as usual, in the best maps even, “Marol,” and in some others “Malial.”

Mughals,<sup>1</sup> in which some of the branches of Dōl-bah Canbahs, or nomads, already noticed, work; but on account of the excessive coldness of the air they are not able to work more than forty days in each year. The shafts (adits) open on level ground, in such wise that a person can enter them; and the shafts are numerous, and most of them lead one into the other. It is affirmed that as many as three hundred families at a time continue at all times to dwell in these shafts or holes. The passage of some Mughals happened to lie that way, and being perceived by the Dōl-bah from a distance, when they drew near, these people crept into the shafts so that the Mughals could not find one of them. In these shafts, likewise, they do not burn any oil, only clarified fat of sheep, in which no tallow is contained. They bring the earth in sieves to the mouths of the shafts and wash it, and it is said that from one sieve-full of earth, as much as ten *miṣqāls* (each *miṣqāl* being about one dram and a half) are on an average produced. The same person digs out the earth, brings it out, and washes it himself; and in the course of a day can fill and wash twenty sieves-full. Although this matter has not been verified and tested by me, nevertheless, the statement agrees in every way with the reports current in Tibbat, and therefore it has been recorded here.

“Another territory is Kōkah, which contains some two hundred forts. Its length is three days’ journey; and there is gold to be found in every part of it. They dig out a certain quantity of earth and spread it out on the face of a cured hide, and pick out the gold therefrom which is in grains. Some of these grains are of the size of lentils, or peas; and it is said, that, sometimes, nuggets of the size of an egg and even of the size of a sheep’s liver, or even larger are found.<sup>2</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> Āltūn or Āltān is the Turkī for gold, but not “Altyng;” and Āltūn-cī Tibbat refers to the northern parts thereof, near the “recently discovered, Altyn mountains.”

<sup>2</sup> All the rivers issuing from these mountains bring down gold — the Indus, the Kunar, the Yār-kand river, as its name indicates, namely, Zar-Afshān — the Scatterer or Diffuser of gold — and several others.

Among the rarities despatched by the Cingiz or Great Khān to Sultān Muḥammad, the Khwārazm Shāh, was a larger nugget than this one by far. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states (page 966) that, “Among the rarities and presents sent to the Sultān was a nugget of pure gold, as big as a camel’s neck, which they had brought to him [the Cingiz Khān] from the mountain range of Ṭamghāj, so that it was necessary to convey that piece of gold upon a cart.”

The ruler of Ṭamghāj in the time of the Cingiz Khān was styled The Āltān Khān, *āltān* or *āltūn* in Turkish signifying gold. Ṭamghāj is described as the name of a territory of Turkistān, *i.e.*, the country inhabited by Turks, and the name generally applied to the Bādshāhs or sovereigns of Tibbat and Yughmā; and Ṭamghāj and Yughmā are said to have been “the names of cities giving names to countries also.”

the time that I, the writer of these pages, fixed a capitation tax upon the Kōkah Chiefs, they related, that, only a short time before, a labourer was excavating in a certain part, when the implement he was using became so firmly fixed in a place, that, with all his efforts, he was unable to withdraw it again. He removed the earth from around, and what does he behold but a large stone, and in the middle of it embedded was gold, and the spade firmly fixed therein. Leaving it just as it was, he went away and informed the Hākīm or Governor of the matter, when that functionary, and those then present with him, went in a body to the spot, and took hold of the mass, broke the stone, and one thousand five hundred *miṣqāls* of pure Tibbati gold were extracted from it, each *miṣqāl* of that part being a *miṣqāl* and a half of the usual weight!

“The gold of Kōkah which they extract from the earth is, indeed, so pure, that, however much it may be assayed and tested, the only loss that arises is the right of the fire [*i.e.*, what is lost by heating and melting]; and this fact is considered astonishing and wonderful by travellers and assayers, and probably nowhere else in the world can such a thing be pointed out.

“In most parts of Tibbat the goods and merchandize of *Khiṭā* and Hind are to be obtained in much the same proportion and quantity.

“Another of the wonders of Tibbat is what is called *dam-gīrī* [stoppage of the breath or suffocation from stagnation of the air, as it is described], and this malady prevails throughout the whole of Tibbat;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author of the Survey Record I have before referred to, in his account of the route from Paṣhat, where gold washing has been carried on for centuries (the “Pishut” of the maps) to Goslak (see my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc., page 145), over the Calas Ghāshaey, or Pass, says: “The summit of this mountain range, which is named Kuṇḍ by the Afghāns and Tīraj Mīr by the Tājzīks of Qāshqār [Kāshghar and Qāshqār are totally distinct countries], and which always appears white from excessive snow, lies on the left hand. By the way are dense forests, among the trees of which are many descriptions of fruit-bearing trees, and much grass and herbage of various species; and as from the smell of the grass (or herbage) a person becomes stupified, people take an onion along with them in their hands, and immediately on their brain becoming affected they smell the onion and also eat it, and their brain recovers from the effect.”

From this it appears that the “onion mountains” are more than one range.

In another place the Surveyor says, that the Mīr Shāh Rizā, Bādshāh or Chief of Drūsh, a dependency of Qāshqār, or Citrāl, who was an enthusiastic geographer, told him likewise, that the range extends in an unbroken, conterminous chain from the tract of country inhabited by the Qirghiz nomads (immediately south and west of Kāshghar), as far as Hirāt, and that Hindū Kush is merely the name of one of the passes leading over it. This range is also called Sarōwar [the same word as occurs in “Lake Mansarowar,” of the maps], and the Afghāns style it Kuṇḍ, both of which words are of the same meaning, Sarōwar and Kuṇḍ being the Sanskrit for ‘lake,’ ‘pond,’ ‘pool,’ etc.

but where there are forts and villages there it prevails to a less degree. In all cases the symptoms are the same: the respiration is always affected or stopped, and a person's head burns in the same manner as if he had taken a heavy load upon it and had ran up a very high ascent with it; and on account of this burning sensation he cannot speak without much effort. Then sleep overpowers him, but as yet the eyes are scarcely closed in sleep—what from the difficulty of respiration and the burning sensation in the head, and pain in the lungs and chest—than he awakes again in great anguish and agitation; and this is the state into which people always fall when attacked with this malady. When it increases, delirium ensues, and the person begins to talk incoherently, and sometimes has not the power to utter a word. The face, hands, and feet swell; and when this change has come, the person dies between the morning and the early forenoon. It sometimes happens that a person attacked lingers in this state for some days; and if, during this time, death does not supervene, and the invalid reaches a fort or village, or other inhabited place, there is a chance of his life being saved, but if not, death is certain to happen.

“Strange to say, this malady does not attack the people of Tibbat,

In another place (*Notes*, page 309), on crossing the Qarā-Quram range from Kahaplū Aghzā, he says, that “on the way thither, you meet with a vast deal of snow, and much water, grass, and herbage. As the smell emanating from these grasses produces faintness and stupefaction, travellers take care to provide themselves with onions when they travel by this route. When a person becomes affected from the smell, and feels faintness coming over him, his companions give him an onion to eat, and also one to smell at, and this is said to be an effectual antidote.”

It is doubtful, however, whether it would have the same effect if the person *continued* in that part; for, of course, only the first symptoms of *dam-gīrī*, are here referred to.

The Buddhist pilgrims, Hwui Seng and Sung Yun, which latter is said to have been a native of Tibbat, who visited these parts in 518 A.D., in the translation of their travels by Beal from the Chinese (page 183), say: “After entering the *Th'sung Ling* (or Onion Mountains), step by step we crept up for four days, and then reached the highest point of the range. \* \* \* \* To the west of the 'Th'sung Ling mountains all the rivers flow to the westward. \* \* \* \* To the eastward of the capital of this country [Han-pan-to, Pan-to, or Khartchou], there is a rapid river (or a river, Mang-tsin, or a wide ford river) flowing to the north-east towards Sha-leh (Sand-curb, see note 2 page 88).” Here, of course, the Zar-Afshān, described by Mīrzā Haidar, is referred to, which is styled by the name of Mangshīn [Mang-tsīn] up to the present time.

What I particularly wish to draw attention to here is the coincidence of the range being called the “Onion Mountains” in 518 A.D., from which it is evident that onions have been used for at least some fourteen centuries as an antidote against an attack of *dam-gīrī* (see also page 84), and that the probability is, that the range got the name of *Th'sung Ling*, or Onion Mountains, from this use of onions.

who are unacquainted with it: strangers alone are liable to its attacks; and their physicians cannot account for this disease attacking strangers and non-dwellers in Tibbat,<sup>1</sup> neither do they or any one else know any remedy for it. The colder the air the more people are affected by it; and it not only attacks human beings, but every living creature [foreign to Tibbat?], and more particularly human beings and horses, as will be presently shown. When on one occasion it became necessary to make a rapid inroad of one day's journey, and we set out, on the following morning when I awoke, the horses with the force which accompanied me seemed very few. On making investigation I found that in that one night 2,000 horses had died; and of my own stud alone there were twenty-four spare horses which had been taken on, and out of them no less than twenty-three had died! This malady seems to affect horses even more than human beings; and save in Tibbat, I never heard anything like it happening any where else.

“The ‘*ulamā*, or ecclesiastics of Tibbat, are all, without exception, called by the general name of *Lāmah*,<sup>2</sup> but they are styled by different titles according to the degree and description of their learning. For example: in my time they styled an *Imām* and a *Mujtahid*, “*Tōngbah*” and “*Kajūwā*,” respectively.<sup>3</sup> I used to converse a good deal with them by means of an interpreter; but, when the discourse became somewhat difficult and abstruse, the interpreter used to be unable to understand it perfectly, and incapable of interpreting it, consequently, the conversation on such occasions would remain incomplete and unfinished. But what I understood of the fundamental articles of their belief is this [the author here gives an account of the Buddhist doctrine which I need not insert here, but merely add what he afterwards mentions regarding the Buddha himself]. “The doctrine of *Shakā Mūnī* is the religious belief of all *Khiṭāe* and Tibbat. In the former country they style him *Shaqiyā Mūnī*, and in the latter, *Shaqā Tōbā* [or

<sup>1</sup> The Tibbatīs we may say, are born to it, and therefore are not affected like strangers by such a rarified atmosphere.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Lānbah*, both being correct.

<sup>3</sup> An *Imām* is prelate or chief priest, a leader in religious matters, and *Mujtahid*, an expounder of the law, traditions, etc., and of the *Qur'ān*. It must not be supposed that the *Mīrzā* means that these Tibbatī words are translations of *Imām* and *Mujtahid*: he merely means that the Buddhist priests of high rank or degree are so styled. *Tōngbah* is probably what the Tibbatīs style “*Tsonkhapa*.”

According to the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-ī-Nāṣirī* (see page 1106) however, “in the time of the Great *Qā'ān*, *Ūktāe*, son of the Cingiz *Khān*, *masjids* were founded in all the cities of *Tingit*, *Ṭamghāj*, and *Tibbat*, and the countries of *Cīn*; and all the forts and strongholds of the countries of the east were given in charge to a number of *Musalman Amīrs*.”

Tōyā ?], but, in history, the name is written Shakā Mūnī. In some Histories he is accounted among the prophets of Hind, and some aver that he was a philosopher. \* \* \* Shakā Mūnī declared that of the 124,000 apostles or prophets who were to follow him, the last would be named Jānksabah, who would be an orphan, without father or mother, and all the world would become converts to his faith; that he himself would impart the precepts of his religion, so that it might be transmitted from one generation to another by these prophets down to the period of Jānksabah's blessed appearance. He also declared that the countenance of this prophet would be in such and such wise; and he had given an image which every one should take care to preserve, because a being would be born of that likeness, and that, before all other people, they should believe on him. At this time, in all their idol-temples, the image or likeness which occupies the chief place, is the image of this expected Jānksabah, and all the likenesses which they make are with reference to him.<sup>1</sup>

“Another of the territories or districts of Tibbat is Zōnkah, which is the most noted and esteemed in all Tibbat. In that part the *māh-farfīn* is produced.

“I saw there a mandate from a Bādshāh of Khiṭāe, written in the Khiṭā-i character, in one corner of which the purport thereof was written in the Tibbatī alphabet, and in another corner, a translation in the Persian language,<sup>2</sup> neatly written in the *naskh* character. It set forth that, ‘His Majesty sends his greeting unto all people, and says, that Shakā Mūnī, who founded the religion of idol-worship (*but parastī*), lived upwards of 3,000 years ago, and that he had delivered sayings of great wisdom and subtlety which was beyond the capacity of every one to comprehend, and that they might set their minds at rest on that matter.’ There are other remarks on the subject of repairing the idol-temples; but the chief object intended to be conveyed is the era of Shakā Mūnī. A year different from that of the *Hijrat*, with which I was not acquainted, is written therein; but, from appearances, I should imagine that the document is not much more than a century old, but God knows best. I had gone into Zōnkah in Rabī‘u-l-awwal (third month) of 940 H. (September, 1533 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a somewhat remarkable statement, and shows that what is assumed to be, and which writers call, “the image of the sitting Buddha,” in the temples of Buddhist people, is no other than the likeness of the coming Buddha, Jānksabah, and which Shāqiyā Mūnī enjoined his followers to keep in their temples. The same, I think, may be said of the paintings supposed to be of Shāqiyā Mūnī.

<sup>2</sup> This shows the extensive use of the Persian language in Asia.

<sup>3</sup> This would be the reign of Yng Tsong, the sixth emperor of the Ming



“In Kāshghar, as well as in Tibbat, the *Qūtās-i-Sahrāe* [or wild *yāk*] is found, which is a formidable animal and a dangerous.<sup>1</sup> When it gets at a person, whether it butts with its horns, and gores him, or whether it kicks out at him, or gets the person under it, it is the cause of that person’s destruction; or whether, not having time enough for this, it merely gives him a toss which sends him twenty *gaz* (ells) up into the air, he is hardly likely to live after falling from such a height. One *Qūtās* bull is sufficient load for twelve horses; and one person can in no wise lift its shoulder blade. I killed a *Qūtās* at the time of making a certain raid, and divided the flesh among seventy persons, and each one had sufficient flesh to last him for a period of four days. These animals are not found anywhere else save in the region of Tibbat.”

THE AUTHOR IS DESPATCHED ON AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INFIDELS  
OF TIBBAT.

After expatiating on the advantages of holy warfare against infidels to the orthodox Musalmān, the author says: “I set out from Kāshghar on this expedition in *Zī Hījah* (the last month) of the year 938 H. (the latter half of August, 1531 A.D.). As I have previously mentioned, the northern boundary of Tibbat, that is in other words, *Bāltī*, terminates at *Bilaur* and *Badakhshān*. On its winter eastern side is the

dynasty. Du Halde tells us that in the third year of his reign (1441 A.D.) he issued an edict prohibiting all persons from doing honours to *Confucius* in the temples of the idols.

In his sixth year (1444 A.D.) he marched an army against the Tartars [*Mughals* rather] on the other side of the great wall. He was, however, entirely defeated, and taken prisoner, and carried away into *Mughalistān*. He is the *Tiŋg-thûn* of the *Lāmah* quoted below.

According to the statement of the *Lāmah*, “*Sum-pa Khan-po*,” whose life is given by *Bābū Çarat Candra Dās*, in *J. A. S. B.* for 1889, page 63, the third Ming emperor was called *Tai Ming* (*Yemglo*), who ascended the throne in 1402 A.D., but he does not give the year of his death, or that of other emperors: he merely gives the date of their successors’ ascending the throne. The fourth Ming emperor, *Huŋshi*, according to the *Lāmah*, ascended the throne in 1424 A.D.

This *Tai Ming* is the same potentate who sent an embassy to *Sultān Shāh Rukh Mīrzā* in 816 H. (1413-14 A.D.), with a letter, who is called *Dāe Ming* by the historians of *Shāh Rukh*’s reign. The latter sent a return embassy with a long and interesting letter in reply to that of the Ming emperor.

<sup>1</sup> The *Amīr*, *Nāşiru-d-dīn*, *Sabuk-Tigīn*, father of *Sultān Maḥmūd* of *Ghaznih*, was nick-named by his comrades the *Qarā Bujkum* or *Black Ghajz-gāo*, which words are respectively Turkish and old Persian for the wild *Yāk* of Tibbat and adjacent parts. Black here refers, not to colour, but ferocity, and such as *Mīrzā Haidar* describes above.

territory of Yār-kand, and to the west of it is Kash-mīr. I was accompanied by Sikandar Sultān [Sultān Sa'īd Khān's son], while the Khān himself proposed to proceed by the route of Khutan into the Altūn-cī Tibbat, which is a *dōl-pah*, or, in other words a *dash*t (steppe).<sup>1</sup>

“I set out towards the close of the month before mentioned, and on the 1st of Ṣafar (the second month of the following year, 939 H.), we reached Nūbrah, which is a territory dependent on Tibbat. A messenger was despatched into the whole of these parts to invite the people to embrace the Musalmān faith.<sup>2</sup> Most of them accepted the invitation with submission, with the exception of these black-faced ones of Nūbrah, who manifested a contumacious and rebellious spirit, and all betook themselves to their forts and strongholds. Bōrq-pā, who was the greatest of the chiefs among them, and whose fort was Hōndār, which is the principal stronghold of that part, shut himself up therein. I invested him there; and was occupied for some days in preparing the necessary materials for laying siege to it, such as *manjanīqs* (balistas), *tōrās* (mantelets), etcetera, and on the day fixed upon, moved towards it. Confusion and disorder, however, arose among the enemy, and they evacuated the fort and took to flight, pursued by the Musalmāns as far as it was possible to follow them, and not one of the tribe entertained a hope of escape. Bōrq-pā, with all the males having been killed, a *manār* of the heads of these contumacious rebels was raised, and a monument to the infidels of these parts towered upwards to the sky. Their territory was taken possession of, and troops occupied their forts; and from thence we entered the territory of Mār-yōl. Here there are two Ḥākims or rulers, one was Lat Jū Ghadān, and the other Mā Shīgūn; and both of them came and presented themselves, and submitted. At this time the sun changed from *Virgo* and entered the sign *Libra*; and in *Libra* throughout all Tibbat, the severity of the cold is so great as not to be equalled in any other part in this season of the year. Consultation was now held with the Amīrs along with me, as to what part of Tibbat was the best for us to make our *qishlāq*, or winter quarters,<sup>3</sup> and where forage for the cattle and food for the men would

<sup>1</sup> From the context this refers to the table land of Tibbat, rather than to a *dash*t or steppe.

<sup>2</sup> In other words, they were called upon to “*come in*,”—something after the manner recently, and now being practised on the frontier of Afghānistān towards the purely Afghān tribes—and allow themselves to be “annexed” against their will, but their religion is not interfered with.

<sup>3</sup> Any one who has been in the Afghān state, especially its northern part, ought to know the proper meaning of *qishlāq* or *qishlāgh* (‘q’ and ‘gh’ being permutable in the Turkī language), and most people who have been in those parts do know that it simply means a *place* or *tract* in which the nomad people take up their

be procurable. No one could give indication of any such place in Tibbat; and the general opinion was, that it was advisable to enter Kash-mīr, and take up our winter quarters there.<sup>1</sup> If we could subjugate it, well, otherwise, having passed the winter there, we could leave it when the spring came round. Having reinforced the troops left to hold the different places in Tibbat [this part of it], we left Mār-yōl and those tracts, and set out towards Kash-mīr. News now reached me that the Khān himself [Sultān Sa'id Khān, ruler of Kāshghar] had arrived in these parts (Tibbat), and that on the road he had been attacked with *dam-gīrī*, the malady peculiar to this infidel land; and that the Khān wished to see me as quickly as possible. I therefore left the forces along with me at the very place where the news reached me, and set out at once for the Khān's presence.

“I previously mentioned that the Khān had intended to advance into Tibbat towards the *dol-pah* or *dash*t by way of Khutan, having despatched me with a part of his forces towards Bāltī. At the period in question the sun was in *Aries*. The Khān, however, passed a month in some of the summer stations, and also in the pasture lands of the mountains of Kāshghar, until, in the meanwhile, the season of *Sunbal* had come round [the sun had entered the constellation *Virgo*]. People in the habit of passing to and fro in these parts represented to the Khān, that the time had gone by, and that after this, all the waters of the rivers would be entirely frozen up, in such wise that no water would be procurable, and that a sufficient quantity of firewood was not to be obtained in that part enough to thaw a sufficient quantity to supply the wants of man and beast.<sup>2</sup> Further, that it was necessary to make the utmost endeavours to procure and lay in a sufficiency of the droppings of the wild *qūtās* or *yāk*, to be able, at least, to cook broth. On this account, to secure a supply, a number of the men of the force [with the Khān] remained behind on this route, on foot, for this purpose. The Khān did not wish to retire and thus spoil this holy warfare, and said that difficulties and hardships were to be expected,

winter quarters. But Lieut.-Col. T. H. Holdich, R. E., who was with the Afghān Boundary Commission, has made a discovery to the contrary; for in his “Report” of the 14th of March, 1887, to the Secretary of State for India, page 25, he assures us that “*kishlaks*” are “mud villages,” from “time immemorial” perhaps. After this, what might *ilāq*, or *ilāgh* be, which signify in the same language, a place where nomads take up their summer quarters?

<sup>1</sup> We have been repeatedly informed by persons who wish to be considered authorities in these matters, that we need not have any fear, because there are no practicable routes leading into Kash-mīr through Tibbat, and that that country was never yet invaded from the north. Here is a proof of their incorrectness.

<sup>2</sup> Showing that such was the usual method of obtaining water at that season.

but the merit would be all the greater; and that it was necessary to follow *Mīrzā Haidar*, referring to myself, and complete the work they had undertaken. The *Khān* therefore returned from *Khutan*, and followed the very same route into *Bāltī* which I had myself taken. On the road his health gave way from an attack of *dam-gīrī*. He was very ill, and would often lapse into insensibility. His physicians tried all their remedies without avail; and although advised to give up proceeding farther by his *Amīrs*, he would not consent. He was desirous of joining me, although he himself expected he should die on the way. He told them, saying: 'Take me onwards to the scene of operations while life remains; and when I am incapable of anything, then you may do as you consider best.' He repeatedly inquired about me, and prayed that he might last out until he had seen me. It was impossible for them to halt anywhere, notwithstanding the state the *Khān* was in, because of the excessive cold, and the absence of water and forage, besides which, the very act of delaying in any one place would be the cause of increase of the malady; and the only chance remaining was for him to be taken to a place where the effects of this *dam-gīrī* were by no means so great. The *Amīrs* accordingly had taken the *Khān* to such a place; and on that day I arrived in his camp. The *Khān* had come to himself again on that day, and was much pleased at seeing me, and thanked God that I had come; and he actually recovered a little, so that we were able to conduct him into *Nūbrah*. There a consultation was held, and each one gave his opinion; and I represented to the *Khān* that, with all my search and inquiries, I found there was no place in these parts of *Tibbat* where more than 1,000 men could find winter quarters, and such a small number were incapable of suppressing any outbreak or quelling any hostility if it arose, and that, with the exception of *Kash-mīr*, no one could point out any other befitting place in which to remain for the winter. On the way, however, were several passes, in consequence of which, the weak state of the *Khān's* condition would not possibly admit of his proceeding thither; that if the *Khān* consented to the arrangement, 1,000 men should be left in attendance on him, and he should return to *Bāltī*, where there was neither *dam-gīrī* to fear, nor passes to be crossed; while I, with the rest of the force, would proceed into *Kash-mīr* and there remain for the winter, and when spring should come round we could act as might be deemed advisable. The *Khān* approved of this; and as it was understood at the outset, that *Tibbat* was not a country into which a large force could be taken<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When *Ūktāe Qā'ān* undertook the final conquest of *Khīṭāe*, in *Rabī'u-l-awwal*, 627 H. (March, 1230 A.D.), he despatched a force of 20,000 men under his brother, *Tūlī Khān*, along with whom was the *Juzbī*, *Tūqūlqū*, to enter that territory by the

[supported], the number originally fixed was only 5,000 in all: 3,000 with the Khān, and 2,000 under my orders. Accordingly, the Khān now took 1,000 men along with him, and marched towards Bāltī; while the remaining 4,000, with several Amīrs of the Khān, proceeded with me towards Kash-mīr.

“The Khān reached Bāltī at the end of *Libra*; and of the chiefs of that part, Bahrām, the Jū [or Jū-ī], presented himself, and submitted to him, but the rest of the Jū-iān [plural of Jū or Jū-ī] of Bāltī, as is usual among such infidels, showed hostility and contumacy. With Bahrām, Jū, leading the way, the force with the Khān attacked Shigar, which is the seat of Government and chief place in all Bāltī, and which was taken on the first attack. The men were put to the sword, while the women and children, and plunder, were appropriated by the Khān's soldiers. After that they did not refrain from attacking other approachable places in that mountain tract, but, where there were strong forts and difficult *darahs*, those they were unable to approach, and they were left alone in consequence.

“On account of the depth of the snow that winter, no news could be sent from Kash-mīr to the Khān, and therefore the contumacious infidels gave out such reports as suited them and their infernal purposes, [Then, as now, all who defend their homes and their liberty, in these parts, and refuse “to come in,” are all “rebels and freebooters,” and their designs “infernal”], so that the troops in Bāltī had become anxious and depressed; until, at the close of winter, the swift messengers whom I sent from Kash-mīr to the Khān, to announce the conquest of that territory, turned their sorrow into joy. In the beginning of spring, the Khān, with his force, retired from Bāltī; and the expedition into Nūbrah, which I had made preparations for undertaking in person, had been entrusted by the Khān to the great Amīr, the Kōkal-dāsh, whose name has been mentioned before in the affairs of Kāshghar. Through defective counsel, however, and want of unanimity and foresight among his forces, they had devastated all that tract in such a manner, that the whole of the people thereof had been roused to resistance. All that could do so had fled to the strong places, and only their families and feeble people, who could not be removed, were left behind. Abandoning them, they did not cease from plundering on the routes, and from sedition, and other improper acts. As it was not

southern route through Tibbat, and near the northern frontier of the empire of Mahā Cīn. \* \* \* \* Tūlī's force was nearly perishing of famine, so that his men were actually reduced to the necessity of eating human flesh and dry grass, and his further progress was stopped until aid was sent him. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, note, page 928.

advisable for them [the force under the *Kōkal-dāsh*] to continue in *Nūbrah* any longer, they had come to *Mār-yōl*. *Tā Shīgūn* [the chief of that part] not having presented himself, one fort belonging to him was captured, and he and its defenders killed; and they were occupying the place when I arrived from *Kash-mīr* to present myself to the *Khān*, as I shall now proceed to relate.

“Having set out from *Nūbrah*, with the additional troops sent along with me by the *Khān*, as before mentioned, and rejoined my own force which I had left in the neighbourhood of *Mār-yōl*, I advanced with all possible celerity towards *Kash-mīr*. On the way, all the chiefs of *Tibbat*, through whose districts we passed, submitted, and added their fighting men to the number of mine. Some of *Bālti Tibbat* lying in our way we made incursions into; and in the middle of *Scorpio*, in *Jamādiu-ṣ-ṣānī*, 939 H.<sup>1</sup> (February, 1533 A.D.), entered *Kash-mīr* by the *Zōjī Lah* or Pass [by the *Dirās* road. I need not give here what he says about *Kash-mīr* and the operations therein: they are matters of history which I hope to discuss hereafter]. At the end of *Shawwāl* (about the end of June, 1533 A.D.) we again set out from *Kash-mīr* on our return, by the same route as we had entered it, by *Lār*. On reaching the frontiers of *Tibbat*, most of the people of that part came and presented *pēsh-kash* [tribute], and their wealth, with the exception of those of *Karsah* [the “*Kartse*” of the maps], which is a territory or district dependent on *Tibbat*, consisting of a *darah* or valley narrower than the heart of a miser, and the sides were steep in proportion, so that, at midday even, the route through it was dark. The people thereof were very bold and audacious, as they conceived it would be impossible to get at them. We reached the entrance to it after the time of midday prayer; and during the night every one made his preparations, and waited for the next day to dawn. We attacked them, and they several times rolled down great stones upon the troops of *Islām*, who, however, scaled the towering heights, and at last gained the victory. As it was all mountain, the enemy could not easily escape, and consequently most of them were killed, and their families and their effects became the booty of the victors. This success produced a wonderful effect on other parts, the people of which could not offer us too much; and all the wealth of the *Pūrīk* district, or territory, dependent on *Tibbat*, was gathered in, and this I divided among the *Amīrs* and soldiery, after having selected a few of the best things for presentation to the *Khān*.”

<sup>1</sup> This would be in February, 1533 A.D., but the sun enters *Scorpio* in October; and the year 939 H. commenced on the 2nd of August, 1532 A.D. I think, therefore, the *Mīrzā* must mean *Rabī‘u-l-awwal* or *Rabī‘u-ṣ-ṣānī*, the third or fourth month, not the sixth month of the year as above.

THE KHĀN SETS OUT FOR YĀR-KAND, HAVING NOMINATED THE AUTHOR  
TO PROCEED TOWARDS ŪRSĀNG, AND THE KHĀN'S DEATH.

“After my return from Kash-mir to the Khān's presence at Mār-yōl, he held counsel with all his Amīrs; and finding that he was unable to undertake the chief object of this expedition himself, that is to say, the destruction of the great idol-temple of Ūrsāng,<sup>1</sup> the place to which all the people of Khīṭāe turn towards in prayer [most sacred place], and which he considered it was his duty as a pious Musalmān to do, he determined to send me on that service. I was to take whomsoever I chose with me, and was to have entire control over every one. I determined to take my brother, ‘Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, and my paternal uncle's son, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and Jānkah Mīrzā, who is mentioned in the account of Kāshghar; and of the common men I selected 2,000, and prepared for the expedition. Six days of Zī-Hijjah [the last month] were occupied in this, when the time came for bidding adieu to the Khān, who was going from Mār-yōl to Yār-kand. I accompanied him one stage on the way, when the time for separation came. He kept his looks fixed upon me as long as he could see me, as I did towards him as long as he was in sight, and then I turned away with tearful eyes, and heart burning with the fire of separation from one I was never again to behold. I heard from him four days after, that he, having passed beyond the Sāqirī ‘*Uqbah* or Pass,<sup>2</sup> intending to push on after the usual religious observances of the ‘Īd-i-Azḥā [10th of the month above named]; and this was his last epistle to me. After having observed the ceremonies of that festival he had set out, being taken on with all possible celerity; and he had cleared the Mūz Ārt<sup>3</sup> [Ice Defile Pass] when his condition changed for the worst, through the noxious air of that tract. From thence to the place where the malady of *dam-gīrī* ceases to affect one was eight days' journey [ordinary stages], and he wished to be taken on as quickly as possible. As the only hope of saving his life was to get him beyond its influence, they seated him on horseback, supporting him on either side, when an upright position is the worst possible one for a person suffering from this malady, and he ought to have been placed in a litter. They completed the eight stages in four days; and at the time of afternoon prayer, had reached a place within three *farsakhs* or leagues of where all danger from *dam-gīrī* ceases, when the good Khān breathed his last.” [Here Mīrzā Haidar pays a grateful tribute to his memory, and mourns

<sup>1</sup> He writes this name Ūrsang as well as Ūrsāng.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Notes*, page 314.

<sup>3</sup> This word is not ‘*muz*,’ but *mūz*, the *u* being long.

the loss of him who had cherished him from his boyhood, whose brother-in-law he was, in whose service he had passed twenty-eight years, and from whom, up to the very last, he had received constant proofs of affection and confidence. His death took place on the 16th of Zi-Ḥijjah, 939 H. (7th July, 1533, old style), aged 47. He was descended from Caghātāe Khān, son of the Cingiz, or Great, Khān, and had reigned over Kāshghar and Yār-kand for twenty years independently. Bābar Bādshāh was his paternal uncle's son.]

“I passed the ‘Īd-i-Azhā at Mār-yōl, and then set out on my expedition against Ūrsāng. We proceeded twenty days' journey, meeting with none of the infidels of Tibbat; for such as there were had dispersed and entered into their forts, which were of considerable strength, and in which they placed great confidence, and to capture which would have been a difficult matter, and the advantage to be gained thereby not equal to the trouble. So, leaving Iskandar Sultān, and my brother, ‘Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, and my cousin, Maḥmūd Mīrzā to follow, with the heavy baggage and materials, and the weak mules, we set out with the light-armed troops and the strongest horses, with all possible celerity. On the 1st of Ṣafar (second month), 940 H. (21st of August, 1533 A.D.) we reached a place called Bār-yāng, belonging to a numerous nomad people (*lit.* dwellers in tents) of Tibbat, whom we came upon and harried, so that we captured near upon 300,000 sheep, together with captives, horses, and other property, all of which became the booty of the soldiery. There we halted for some time to allow the cattle to graze in the pasture lands thereof, and to allow Iskandar Sultān, ‘Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, and Maḥmūd Mīrzā, to come up. As I had gone on in advance, they were following at leisure; and on the 1st of Muḥarram (first month) of the year 940 H. (22nd July, 1533 A.D.), they had moved against one of those forts which I previously referred to, named Kārdūn,<sup>1</sup> and having reduced its defenders to extremity, they applied for aid to one of the Rāes of Hindūstān, and had brought thither 3,000 Hindūs, dagger-men [*kaṭārah-dār*], infantry. Iskandar Sultān, and my brothers, with 200 of their men, moved to attack them, and with such haste, that only a few of that number kept up with them. My brother, ‘Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā, was an intrepid youth, and previous to this had performed brave deeds in the force along with the late Khān in Bālti. Flushed therefrom, he did not wait for the troops

<sup>1</sup> Possibly “Kārdam” of Walker's map in longitude 81° 8', latitude 30° 27', and about eighteen miles south-west of his “Rakas Kal Lake,” near the frontiers of Hindūstān and Nēpāl, but I think it is much farther south than the route taken by Mīrzā Ḥaidar. There is a place called Barkhal on some maps in about longitude 84° 50', and latitude 35° 30', but that again is too far north.



to come up, but foolishly threw himself upon the enemy, with only three men with him. The enemy surrounded them; and at this juncture, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, with four others came to his assistance, charged among the enemy, and rescued ‘Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā. Not content with this, ‘Abdu-l-lāh [and the others] again faced about and charged their opponents; and he was again completely surrounded, when five heroes came up, and seeing them in this plight, they also charged the infidels; but before they could reach them, they had cut my brother, ‘Abdu-l-lāh, into pieces, in such wise that every bit of his body, armour, and clothes remained in the possession of those infidels.

“Having continued in the pasture grounds here [at Bār-yāng] until the cattle were refreshed and recruited, I sent back from this place all the booty that had been taken; and having carefully selected 900 men from my force, with these I set out for Ūrsāng. From Mār-yōl of Tibbat to this place is a distance of two months’ journey, and when within one month’s distance from it, we reached a point where there is a great *kōl* or lake,<sup>1</sup> the circumference of which is forty *farsangs* [leagues], and on the banks thereof there is a fort which they call Tōk [Thōk] of Labōk, or Labūk, and there we happened to pass the night. Alas, when we awoke the next morning, the whole of the horses were dead, with the exception of a very few which were half-dead and paralyzed or distorted! I had twenty-seven horses of my own along with me, and by morning, but one remained unaffected, two others were half-dead, and twenty-four were quite dead; and this was the effect of *dam-gīrī*, as before explained.

“When we started from that place that morning one-fifth of the troops only were mounted, and the rest had to march on foot. On the second day, a district or territory named Yam<sup>2</sup> was harried, and many captives were taken. The people thereof stated that from thence to Bangālah was a road of twenty-four days’ journey.<sup>3</sup> At this time, of

<sup>1</sup> This lake seems to be the “Chargut Cho, or Lake” of the maps, the largest of several west and north-west of the Tingrī Nāwar, and from which Lhāsa is distant about two hundred and fifty miles towards the south-east. At the rate of about twenty-five miles a day, which would be the average for horsemen in this part, it would be just ten stages from Lhāsa, and about three hundred and sixty miles northwards of Dārjiling. We must, however, allow for the physical changes of nearly four centuries.

<sup>2</sup> This evidently is the name which occurs in that of the *Chō* or lake to the south-west of the “Chargut Cho.”

<sup>3</sup> It was by this route probably that Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn, Muḥammad, the *Khalj* Turk, son of Bakht-yāru-d-dīn, and conqueror of Bang-āl (Bengal) invaded Tibbat from his capital, Lakhanawaṭī, at the close of the year 610 H. (1205 A.D.), as related in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pages 560–568. After he had passed “the

the force along with me, the number of mounted men whose horses were strong enough to go on, amounted to ninety only; and with these I proceeded four days' journey onwards to Asbaraq, from which to Ūrsāng<sup>1</sup>

great river, Bēg-matī [the Brahmā-putr?], which in volume, breadth and depth, was three times greater than the Gang, he pushed on for fifteen days, and, on the sixteenth, reached the open country of Tibbat."

The Cingiz Khān while wintering at and around Gībarī in the district to the north of Peshāwar, before hearing that all Tingqūt and Tamghāj was in a state of revolt, was desirous of entering India, and returning into Cīn by way of Lakhaṇ-awaṭī and Kāmūd; but, on hearing of these formidable insurrections, he resolved to return by the way he came, by Buqlān, Bukhārā, and Samar-qand, where he passed the winter of 620-621 H. (1223-24 A.D.), and subsequently set out for the disturbed territories "by way of Lōb and the country of Tibbat," that is, along the skirt of the Āltān Tāgh referred to in p. 89 note 3.

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that the Mīrzā never mentions the name of any place called Lhāsa, and yet, without doubt, he refers to the great temple or series of temples at the place known to us by that name. But from the context here, and what the old Jesuit travellers have stated, Lhāsa was the name of the territory, and not of the temple, or place of residence of the Grand Lāmah. In the map to Prejevalsky's travels, in the "*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*," for May, 1887, "*Utsang*" appears as the name of the territory or province in which what we call Lhāsa is situated. This may be a vitiated form of Ūrsāng, the name of the great temple according to the Mīrzā.

According to the Jesuit Grueber, however, Lhāsa was the name of the territory or province, and not the name of the capital and the residence of the Grand Lāmah, where the great temple is, which he says is called "*Butala*," and which "adjoined the city of Tonkir." From this it would seem that the names have been changed in comparatively modern times since the Mīrzā wrote; but "*Butala*" cannot be Ūrsāng, as the former temple was only built in 1644 A.D.

It is not impossible that the name Lhāsa may have been applied to the capital and great temple in the same manner that Srī-Nagar is called "the city of Kashmīr:" not meaning that the city ever was or is called Kash-mīr, but, that it was and is "*the chief city of or belonging to the territory of Kash-mīr.*" In the same way, probably, Tōnkir was styled "The chief place or city of or belonging to Lhāsa," and from constant use that name has been applied exclusively to the city where the great temple is, and where the Grand Lāmah resides.

Grueber calls the whole country *Tangut* [Tingqūt of the Mughals and Turks], and says it is divided into several parts, of which Lhāsa, or Barantolo is the chief.

In the account of Anandah, son of Mangqlīn, son of Qubīlāe Qā'ān, in Tingqūt, the Tārīkh-i-Alfī states, that Tīmūr Qā'ān, another grandson of Qubīlāe, who succeeded him, confirmed Anandah, his cousin, in the government of that territory; and it is stated in that work, that "Tingqūt is an extensive territory on the west side of *Khiṭāe*, and Tingqūt, in the language of *Khiṭāe*, is called *Hawāshī*, that is, the *rūd khānah*, or river, on the west, because most of the cities of Tingqūt are situated on the banks of that river [the Hoang-Ho?]. The great cities of that territory, which used to be the capitals and seat of government of that part from time to time, are five [the names of which are given, but only two can be written with any certainty, the others having no vowel points; namely, Qanjānqū, which

only eight days' journey remained. As, however, the horses of the men still remaining with me were falling, it became absolutely necessary to return. There was no help for it: and after setting out on our return, in six days we rejoined those we had left at Yam,<sup>1</sup> and from thence continued our retreat. This took place on the 8th of Rabī'u-l-ākhir (fourth month: November); and at the end of Jamādiu-l-ākhir, we reached Tām-Lik, distant from Mār-yōl twenty days' journey, and again joined the men with the booty and plunder which had been previously sent back. At Tām-Lik, which is one of the great territories of Tibbat, the people of Kōkah, having come, said that they agreed to pay the *jazīah* [a capitation tax on infidels, or non-Musalmāns], and invited me to come thither and fix the same, such as their means would admit of. In consequence of this request, I proceeded towards Kōkah, and between it and Tām-Lik passed one night on the road [took him two days to go], and reached it. The people received me in the most hospitable manner; and I remained there three days, and fixed the *jazīah* on that

might possibly be meant for Kong-tsang-fū of the Chinese, and Ū-bālik. The others are written in the original, *فحسوق*, *ازروى* or *اردوى*, and *حلجان*. There are twenty-four lesser cities, besides towns and villages without number, and most of the inhabitants are Musalmāns.

The authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, in another place, quoting from some older works, state, that "Tingqūt is described as a mountainous country (also) called Ankasāe. The Mughals called the country, which contained cities, fortresses, and many buildings, Aqashīn or Qāshīn," the chief city, apparently, giving name to the country also. See also note <sup>1</sup>, page 88.

Tingqūt seems to be the Hya or Ning-hya of the Chinese, the capital of which is called Irīqī or Irqī in the Tingqūt language, and Irīqiā or Irqiā by the Mughals. There is still a "Ning-hya-wei" close to the Great Wall.

Sum-pa Khan-po, the Lāmāh, quoted elsewhere, states, that in 1205 A.D. "Chiŋgis [the Cingiz, or Great, Khān] entered Tibbat, and subjugated all its provinces with the exception of Mi-Nag." This invasion of Tingqūt, as the Mughals style it, took place in 603 H. (1206-7 A.D.). The Lāmāh afterwards states that "Chiŋgis subjugated Mi-nag of Tibbat in 1225 A.D., after which he died." This agrees with the Mughal accounts, which state, that, in 622 H. (1224-25 A.D.), the Cingiz Khān entered Tingqūt or Qāshīn, Shīdarqū, the Tingrī Khān, the ruler, having assembled a vast army, intending to throw off the Mughal yoke. The cities of Qām-jīw, Kā-jū, Su-jū, Arūmī or Urūmī, were taken, and the city of Ningāi, evidently the Ning-hya of the Chinese, was invested. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 1085.

It must not be forgotten that Tibbat and parts adjacent have been subject to some great earthquakes, which probably changed the face of the country in many parts, and the courses of rivers. There was a great earthquake in 1352 A.D., and another, a fearful one, in 1681 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> This name is written Nīm here—*نيم*. Before it was Yam—*يم*—and I believe the additional point, making it Nīm, is an error of the copyist.

place [*sic*] at 3,000 Tibbatī *miṣqāls* [of gold], which are one *miṣqāl* and a half of our weight, and returned again [to Tām-Lik].

“Having completed this arrangement, I set out on my return; and on the road disastrous news reached me of the breaking up and dispersion of the force originally sent with me, as will be presently explained. [Here reference is made to the acts of ‘Abdu-r-rashīd Sultān, the son and successor of the late Sultān, Sa‘īd Khān, over Kāshghar]. Rashīd Sultān, when he set to work to murder his kindred, and afflict and plunder them, despatched an agent into Tibbat, and entrusted him with several mandates bearing his seal. One was for his brother, Iskandar Sultān, who was along with me, saying: “I give up to thee the territory of Tibbat; and let Mīrzā Ḥaidar and Maḥmūd Mīrzā remain there.” To the rest of those composing the force, to every troop and standard, one of these missives was sent, to this effect: “Every man who after this continues to remain in Tibbat, and does not immediately on the receipt of this order, forthwith disband and set out towards Yār-kand, his wife, family, and effects will be sold in Qīrghīz<sup>1</sup> in exchange for horses.” As this order had been received when I was away at Kōkah, as already mentioned, and had become known throughout the force, and its meaning fully understood, the men composing it, considering my absence very fortunate, deserted, and set out with all haste towards Yār-kand. Only Iskandar Sultān and my cousin, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, with a few followers, remained. Two days after this catastrophe I arrived at the stage or halting place [Tām-Lik] from whence the troops had dispersed and gone off. Iskandar Sultān and my cousin, Maḥmūd, related what had happened, and advised that we should not move that day, but remain there over night, as some of those who had gone off had done so because they were help-

<sup>1</sup> In another part of his work the author mentions who the Qīrghīz are, and which information people in the present day, for the most part, are ignorant of. He says: “The Qīrghīz are a tribe of Mughals, a division of the Ūir-āts, of which latter race near upon 30,000 remained [in his day] within the limits of Turfān and Kāshghar. These Qīrghīz having manifested much hostility towards the princes of the other Mughals, they separated from them; and the latter people, having become Musalmāns, while the Qīrghīz continued infidels, the other Mughals, in consequence, expelled them altogether.” I have mentioned these facts, because we may be told hereafter that the Qīrghīz are a totally different race.

Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar calls the tract which these Qīrghīz inhabited in his day, Qīrghīz likewise, that is, *the country of the Qīrghīz*.

Ibn Hauqal mentions the country of Khirkhīz or Ghirghīz, and says: “The country of Tibbat is situated between Khirkhīz and the empire of Cīn. Cīn lies between the sea and the land of the Ghuzz (Turks) and Tibbat; but the other parts [some?] of Tibbat were annexed to it.” See page 85.

less, and knew not what else to do, and that it was probable some of the staunch ones would rejoin us. I had along with me in this expedition some hundred veterans, champions, and leaders, who had served with me for years, and their fathers and grandfathers had also served, who had been with me in many conflicts, and whom I looked upon and trusted as equals and brothers, rather than as subordinates. They had been selected by me on many occasions for honourable posts, and on the part of whom hostility I considered wholly impossible; yet, even these deserted me in the night and fled. In the morning I found all had deserted me, but Jān Aḥmad, Atkah,<sup>1</sup> whom I regarded as my foster father, and one of my Qōkal-tāshis,<sup>2</sup> named Shāh Muḥammad, whom I implicitly trusted, but he came back again, bringing five menial servants with him. I was thus relieved of the fear of being left entirely alone; and altogether, that day, about fifty men assembled around me. From this halting place we now set out towards Mār-yōl. It was the beginning of the winter season, and the sun had entered *Capricorn*, and the cold was so intense as cannot be described. Out of this number with me, some forty either lost a hand, foot, ear, eye, or nose, from the frost; and with the endurance of these afflictions and tortures we succeeded in twenty-five days in reaching Mār-yōl again.

The Jū-iān of Mār-yōl, Tā Shīgūn, [and] Raltah Jighdān, who have been mentioned previously,<sup>3</sup> hastened to present themselves and tender their services, notwithstanding, that previously, they had been treated with severity, plundered, and their people killed. I was rather suspicious at this, but, contrary to my expectations, they proceeded to perform various sorts of good service for us; and, to assure us, stated, that it was four hundred years that from father to son they had been subjects of our Bādshāhs, “we their subjects and servants, and they our protectors and nourishers;” that, “if at the time when [those Bādshāhs came] in pomp and grandeur, with a great number of followers, and they themselves through fear and apprehension had committed any transgression or misconduct, it had been visited with corresponding punishment, according to usage in such cases. If every one among the Jū-iān of Tibbat had at that time submitted and presented themselves, they had done so out of fear and terror, but that now they offered their services in all sincerity and truth, and from their hearts, not from the tip of the tongue.” The fort of Shīah or Shiyah, which is the

<sup>1</sup> Atkah really means a tutor or instructor, — a superior servant entrusted with the education of his master's son.

<sup>2</sup> This word Qōkal-tāsh or Qōkal-dāsh, for it is written both ways, appears equivalent to a subaltern, henchman, or armour-bearer.

<sup>3</sup> Only one of these, Tā Shīgūn. See page 99.

chief place and seat of Government of the Mār-yōl territory, they gave up to us as an offering; and we entered it, and took up our quarters therein. In short, we there enjoyed comparative luxury and comfort after all our hardships and difficulties. While there also, several of the men of the army, who had remained behind in that part, rejoined us; and among them was the Maulānā, Darwēsh Muḥammad, of Qarā-Tāgh, one of the followers of the Makhdūm, the Khwājah, Muḥammad Yūsuf. The Maulānā was a good man, and was exceedingly well acquainted with the Tibbatī language; and he was on terms of friendship and intimacy with all the Jū-iān of Tibbat. One, a Hājī, from Kash-mīr, also joined me; and he will be often mentioned in this work. In this manner over sixty persons were now collected about me, but all the soldiery had deserted and gone off [with the few exceptions referred to]. The latter, from the severity of the climate, and the difficulty and affliction that befel them on the way towards Yār-kand, found it was almost impossible to proceed. Those who persevered in so doing lost all their property, and 150 men among the number died from the excessive cold, and the remainder, half dead, succeeded in reaching Yār-kand. Another body turned back, and reached Mār-yōl in a sorry plight. Again a body of about 500 men were got together, and we succeeded in collecting about 10,000 sheep, so that we were able to live in comfort again.

“When I returned from the Ūrsāng expedition, and before reaching Mār-yōl, I had, it will be remembered, despatched Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, and Shāh Muḥammad, the Qōkal-tāsh, with presents and rarities, taken during the expedition, to Rashīd Sultān, to Yār-kand, and to remind him of certain previous agreements between us. \* \* \* \*  
When that winter had come to a close, Rashīd Sultān despatched Bēdkan, son of Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, who is my Qōkal-tāsh, and associated along with him, Hasan, Diwānah, to make his apologies and express regret at what had happened out of inadvertency, and of which he was much ashamed; and therefore it was necessary to express his regret to that friend, meaning myself, at what had happened. Further, that the Maulānā, Qōdāsh, with 200 men, had been despatched to join me, and that my own servants who had reached his presence [with the presents], should return again without let or hindrance. He also sent me some horses and a few rarities. The receipt of this communication was satisfactory; and now great part of Tibbat acknowledged submission to us.

“Maulānā Qōdāsh arrived in due course, and along with him several trustworthy dependents of mine; and after the arrival of this party we moved towards the boundary of Tibbat which adjoins Kash-

mīr, and all Bāltī paid its assessed revenue in a satisfactory manner. Sōrū, which is one of the places belonging to Bāltī, is the strongest and most defensible in that country.<sup>1</sup> Maulānā Qōdāsh asked permission to go there and collect the revenue assessed upon it. I was not willing, as I know those infidels do not like that any one should see their *darahs* and strong places; and they had intimated that they would themselves come, and bring the revenue to me along with them, at the place where I then was, and therefore there was no necessity for sending any one to collect it. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise, and the Maulānā went; and the Sōrū people waylaid him in a narrow defile, and without giving him any chance of resistance, slew him and twenty-four other trustworthy persons besides. Although my force numbered near upon 700 men, yet, from want of discipline and training, and deficiency of weapons, to avenge them was impossible; and much chagrined at not being able to do so, we moved from Bāltī to Tibbat-i-Zang-As-skār<sup>2</sup> [Zang-Skār], which is the name of one of the territories of Tibbat. It had not as yet been entered on account of its altitude,<sup>3</sup> and the difficulty of approaching it; and the time for collecting the assessed revenue was not yet arrived, when we appeared on the scene, to wait for the time, and in combination collect it. At this time a messenger came from one of the Jū-ī<sup>4</sup> of Bāltī, Tungī Sukāb, by name, who had done good service for me on a former occasion, saying, that now the opportunity had come for making a raid upon the murderers of Maulānā Qōdāsh, and slaying the males in retribution for their murdering him and his party, and making their families captive.

“I had sent back some of the men composing my small force, whose strength had failed them, to Mār-yōl, so that I might be able to move quickly with the strong and robust. As an escort to these weak men, I had sent my cousin, Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and a small party, to conduct them one stage on the way back, as the route was dangerous, and, having conducted them through the dangerous part, to halt at that stage for the night. I told him to keep the horses of his party near him during the night on account of the danger of the locality; and a horse, while grazing near the place of his repose, came rather too close to his head. He struck the horse to make the animal move a little farther off, when it launched out at him, and gave him such a kick in the

<sup>1</sup> The altitude of Sōrū, in the *darah* of that name, is just 10,624 feet above the sea level, and has lofty mountains on all sides of it.

<sup>2</sup> Also written Zang-kār, and Zās-kār by more recent authors. See my *Notes* page 313.

<sup>3</sup> Zang-As-skār stands much higher than Sōrū.

<sup>4</sup> Jū or Jū-ī, plural Jū-īān, is the Tibbatī for a petty chief. Note to page 103.

forehead that it was beaten in to the extent of the size of the horse's hoof. The next day he came to me, and I examined the wound; and, according to the custom of the Mughal surgeons, I extracted the pieces of bone from the wound, and set to to cure him if I could. I sent word of this untoward accident to Tungī Sukāb, who sent a message in reply saying, that as it appeared there was now a difficulty in my coming, if I would despatch a few men, he having captured Sōrū, would send me a fifth of whatever booty might be taken. This message reached me at Khūrbā,<sup>1</sup> in the centre of Zang-As-skār, where I was then halted; and Sōt, where Tungī Sukāb dwelt, was five days' journey off. I accordingly despatched the Maulānā, Darwēsh Muḥammad, of Qarā Tāgh, who was on very friendly terms with the Jū-iāns of Tibbat, along with Nūr 'Alī, Dīwānah, who was one of the most trustworthy of my adherents, and who, when the troops deserted and went off towards Yār-kand, on the occasion previously referred to had returned to me again. These two I made leaders, and sent 70 men along with them; and they proceeded, and reached the place agreed upon where they were to meet Tungī Sukāb.

“Two months almost had now passed since my cousin Maḥmūd met with his mishap, and the wound had spread over his whole face. It was highly dangerous, on account of the severe cold, for him to remain in Zang-As-skār. Helpless, and not knowing what else to do, I sent him back to Mār-yōl, remaining in Zang-As-skār myself, intending, that, after Maḥmūd should have reached Mār-yōl safely, I would myself set out towards Sōrū and see whether the means of livelihood were attainable there or not. When Maḥmūd reached the place where the horse had kicked him, on his way to Mār-yōl, he remained there for the night; and in the morning, about the time of mounting to proceed onwards, he had unbound his head in order to apply a dressing to the wound, when the cold air affected his brain, and he became insensible. At the time of afternoon prayer a man came back to me in all haste; and I went off, and arrived at midnight, and Maḥmūd was still unconscious. \* \* \* \* He died the third day after that. \* \* \* \*

“At this time of sorrow and affliction, a man arrived, sent from the party despatched towards Sōrū, saying that Nūr 'Alī, Dīwānah, having combined with those sent with him, had seized the Maulānā, Darwēsh Muḥammad, of Qarā Tāgh, and had gone off to Bāghān, one of the Jū-iāns of one of the territories of Tibbat, whom the Maulānā, it was said, had, on some previous occasion, deceived or imposed upon, and had badly wounded the said Bāghān, and placed his life in danger.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly “Kursha” of the maps.



These tyrants had made over the Maulānā as a present to this infidel, and thereby having obtained permission of him to depart, they all went off to Yār-kand. That Tibbatī infidel killed the Maulānā by fastening up his mouth with a wooden skewer! The Sōrū affair, in consequence of this incident, had to be abandoned.

“I brought Maḥmūd’s corpse to Mār-yōl, and from thence sent it on to Kāshghar to be deposited in the sepulchre of our forefathers. This affair happened in the beginning of winter, in *Scorpio*, when the cold of Tibbat is so intense, that we proceeded to Mār-yōl; and during that winter, and up to the beginning of spring, we endured such hardships and misery as cannot be expressed. When spring came round, for the sake of the horses, I set out with 70 persons, for Ūtlūq, a place to which people go, and which is noted throughout Tibbat for the nourishing powers of its grass. There I employed my time in hunting the wild ass, and the wild *yāk*, and in due course returned to Mār-yōl again. When I set out for Ūtlūq, I had left Iskandar Sulṭān at Mār-yōl in charge of the rest of the men; and now that all had assembled in one place, and the horses had become fat and strong, the men, unable any longer to endure the miseries and privations of this service, all of a sudden separated and deserted, and went off to Yār-kand. Only 50 men out of the whole of them remained with us: all the rest had fled. At this juncture, Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, whom two years before, on the way back from the Ūrsāng expedition, I had sent to Rashīd Sulṭān with presents, as before mentioned, arrived from Yār-kand, and brought me information, which plainly showed that it would not be well or safe for me to remain in Tibbat any longer. This was the reason why I remained in it so long; for if I had left it and gone off any where else, Rashīd Sulṭān would have been sure to have laid the fault on me; but now he had broken the most solemn promises and compacts, confirmed by the most binding oaths, and they were buried in oblivion; but the breaking of his oaths lay on his own shoulders. Immediately after the arrival of Jān Aḥmad, therefore, I prepared to set out towards Badakhshān.”

#### THE AUTHOR PROCEEDS INTO BADA<sup>K</sup>HSHĀN.

“I have before mentioned that out of 700 persons along with me in Tibbat only 50 now remained, the rest having fled in the best manner they were able towards Yār-kand. I have likewise mentioned the difficulties and hardships met with on the routes in Tibbat, through want of forage for horses, the lack of firewood, the excessive coldness of the air, and the difficulty of communication. All these difficulties exist to that degree that, even the mildest nature would refuse to put

up with such; and besides all these, there is the impossibility of obtaining a sufficient quantity of food and clothing, and other necessaries, and particularly horse-shoes, which on such routes cannot be dispensed with. Consequently, what with the failing strength of the horses, and want of food for them, and other matters, it was found impossible to continue any longer in Tibbat. We could neither go to Kash-mīr, nor Kāshghar, nor Turfān, nor Hindūstān: all were impossible of attainment as being unsafe. The only part in which there was a hope of security, and a chance of being well received, was Badakhshān. No one [among us] had seen any practicable route leading from Tibbat into Badakhshān which did not enter Kāshghar [territory?]; but among those men who had deserted with the intention of going off to Yār-kand, and had come back to us again, one, named Jahān Shāh, had, on a previous occasion, related, that he had heard from the people dwelling in the Kōhistān of Yār-kand, who were talking together on the subject, that from a place called Taghā-nāq there was a route in this way and that way, which came out into the Pā-mīr of Badakhshān.<sup>1</sup> I had at this juncture made inquiry of Jahān Shāh about this route, and we now set out to follow this road which as yet we had not seen. Of the fifty men remaining with me, as I have before mentioned, several of them, on account of want of strength to accompany us, remained in Tibbat, and with twenty-seven in all I set out. What with the lack of the necessary equipment for such a journey, and want of strength in the cattle, the difficulties of the route, and the intense cold, although the sun was in the constellation of *Virgo* [month of August], the danger was considerable; for when we reached a place called Qarā Quram [‘Place of the Fallen Black Rocks’]<sup>2</sup> at the time of the setting of the sun, the river there, which is of considerable size, became completely frozen over, and everywhere, where the ice was broken to obtain

<sup>1</sup> I hope it will be noted here that, even three hundred and sixty-five years ago, the Pā-mīr, or a large portion of it, belonged to, and formed part of, the territory dependent on Badakhshān. Russians will probably have the assurance to state that the Pā-mīr, or any portion of it, never belonged to Badakhshān. Another portion of it was subject to the rulers of Kāshghar.

<sup>2</sup> This does not seem to be the Pass of that name incorrectly written and “popularly” called, the “*Karakoram*” Pass, but a place much more to the west, and so called for the same reason as the other—“The Place of Fallen Black Rocks.” To go from Mār-yōl to the “Qarā-Quram” Pass would have taken the Mīrzā and his party some 200 miles farther eastwards than there was any necessity for, and the retracing of his steps westwards would have added a similar distance. Besides, it is mentioned, that on the third day after Iskandar Sulṭān separated from them at the point [Taghā-nāq], where this unexplored route into Badakhshān branched off from the Yār-kand road, they in three days reached the Rās-kān *darah*. See my *Notes*, page 307.

water, not a drop was to be procured. We used our utmost endeavours to obtain some up to the time of the prayer before going to sleep, but without success. The cattle, which during the whole day had passed through a tract subject to the *dam-gīrī* malady, were thus without water on reaching their halting place, and forage for them was as scarce as silver to collect; and the little barley that was given them, they did not eat through want of water. At this juncture, Jān Aḥmad, the Atkah, said that he remembered having once seen a spring hereabouts, and that it was necessary for us to go on about half a *farsakh* (league) farther to reach it. We did so, and he pointed out a place among the ice where it should be broken. This was done, and water was found, and the cattle were watered; but there was a mule with us, one of the strongest among all the animals, which got lock-jaw for want of water, and notwithstanding all its efforts to do so, it could not drink, and died. Consequently, the necessary things with which it used to be laden had to be abandoned.

“Having reached the point where this unexplored route leading into Badakhshān branched off [from that leading to Yār-kand], Iskandar Sulṭān requested me to give him permission to leave us, saying he ‘would go to Rashīd Sulṭān, and that perhaps out of brotherly feeling<sup>1</sup> and kindness, he might take pity on him, as he might now be probably satiated with the destruction he had already wrought upon his kindred.’ I tried all I could to dissuade him, and assured him that no favour was to be hoped for from such an one. The difficulties and hardships of the way, and the distressed condition we were in, combined with want of resolution, and the uncertainty, tended to render him desperate, and the road of reason was veiled from his mind’s eye. I nevertheless complied with his request and wishes, and despatched four men along with him. Five persons having thus separated from us out of twenty-seven, I proceeded on my way with the remaining twenty-two; but on account of their being without shoes, several of our horses broke down. The very same day that Iskandar left me, at the time of afternoon prayer, I had the good luck to kill a wild *yāk*; and we drew pieces of its hide over the hoofs of the broken down horses [in place of shoes], and carried away as much as we possibly could of its flesh. Of food, save some barley, merely sufficient for the horses for one or two days, none remained, therefore this *yāk* was quite a God-send for us. We loaded the horses with as much of its flesh as they could possibly bear—about enough for us all for four or five days—and even then three-fourths of the flesh remained, which we left as a feast for the crows and

<sup>1</sup> They were not brothers by the same mother. Rashīd Sulṭān’s mother was one of Sulṭān Sa‘īd Khān’s other wives.

ravens of those parts, which doubtless, they banqueted upon to their hearts' content. In this way we continued to proceed by conjecture, and next day we killed another wild *yāk*, very much larger and finer than the previous one; and the following day it so happened that the Provider of Daily Bread furnished us with food in plenty.

“From the account given of this route by Jahān Shāh, I conjectured, that in six days more we might reach inhabited tracts; but on the third day after separating from Iskandar Sultān, at about breakfast time [between sun rise and noon—the early forenoon], we reached a place where several men were, some of whom, household by household, came forward to meet us with great cheerfulness and good will. We inquired of them about the route and our destination. They told us that the *darah* or valley we were then in was called Rās-kām,<sup>1</sup> and that from where we then were to the Pā-mīr was five days' journey. Having now reached the habitations of men, and such men as we here met with, we recovered from the hardships and troubles of years in the rest and ease we here obtained. The people took from us every horse whose strength had been exhausted, and exchanged with us, and replaced them with others very good and strong. Of food and drink they placed before us the best of every thing they possessed, and pressed us to partake. The men on beholding me would weep involuntarily, and in passing me would say, in their own idiom: “Thanks be to God, that of our sovereign's descendants of four hundred years, thou at least art left. We are thy sacrifice, and we dedicate ourselves to thee with our families, and people, and all we possess.” At every place we reached, the whole of the people, with their families, used to accompany us, notwithstanding I forbade them to do so, and would willingly have excused them, but it was of no use, and for the space of seven days, they conducted us, with the utmost honour and kindness, and endearing expressions, to the Pā-mīr,<sup>2</sup> and they even wanted to

<sup>1</sup> The route taken by the Mīrzā led nearly due west into the Darah of Rās-kām, through which a considerable river flows, which, in about the parallel of 76° east longitude, turns towards the north, and unites with the river of Yār-kand. On the south side of this *darah* a range of high mountains separates the Rās-kām from the Kanjut Darah, which routes are described in that part of my *Notes on Afghānistān*, etc., which has not yet seen the light; but some information respecting these parts will be found at page 315 of that work.

This route taken by Mīrzā Ḥaidar three hundred and sixty odd years ago, is that which, in the account of “the Pevtsof Expedition,” given in the “*Geographical Journal*” for July 1893, page 62, is said to be absolutely unknown! I gave an account of it, from Mīrzā Ḥaidar's description, thirteen years before, in 1880, in my *Notes* which see.

<sup>2</sup> See Note 2, page 87.

accompany us, with all their families and belongings, into Badakhshān. At last, I managed to dismiss these kind-hearted people, and proceeded onwards into Badakhshān, to Sulīmān Shāh Mīrzā, who is the son of Mīrzā Khān, who was my maternal aunt's son. He came forth to receive me, and did everything in his power to show me honour and respect; and I gave thanks unto God, that, after all these dangers, I had reached such a place of safety and security.

“At the time that I reached Akhāwān, which is the *sar-ḥadd*,<sup>1</sup> or boundary of Badakhshān<sup>2</sup> [on that side], a man in the service of Rashīd Sultān who was there on some affair, presented himself before me; and I gave him a letter in Turkī to deliver to Rashīd Sultān, on the subject of his recreant conduct and unfaithfulness. \* \* \* \* He, soon after, had the kindness to expel from his territory my wife, who was the mother's sister of Rashīd Sultān himself, and sent Iskandar Sultān before mentioned, along with her. Another great favour on Rashīd's part was, that he did not plunder her of all she was possessed of, as he had treated others of his kindred. They, in much anxiety of mind, and in very distressed circumstances, along with some others, about ten in all, arrived in Badakhshān.”<sup>3</sup> \* \* \* \*

That winter was passed by Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā in Badakhshān in comparative comfort, and, in the spring, in the hills and plains thereof; and in the summer he came to Kābul. There many others of the family of the late Sultān Sa'id Khān, expelled from the Kāshghar territory by Rashīd Sultān, also arrived. Subsequently Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā set out for Hindūstān; and when he reached Lāhōr, Kāmran Mīrzā [son of Bābar Bādshah] was then there, who received him with honour and great kindness. He says, that about this time, Sām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'il, Ṣafawī, and brother of Shāh Thamāsib, the then ruler of Īrān Zamīn, tried to take Qandahār from Kāmran Mīrzā. This event happened in 941 H. (1538 A.D.), but, after invest-

<sup>1</sup> This word incorrectly written, “*Sarhad*,” has been mistaken for the proper name of a place, and still appears in our maps as such, and also as “*Sarhad Wakhan*.” The Wākhān district terminates here, as the words *Sar-ḥadd-i-Wākhān* mean; and this place is not more than eighteen or twenty miles from the Palpī Sang Pass.

<sup>2</sup> Because Wākhān has always been part of the Badakhshān territory.

<sup>3</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar forgave 'Abdu-r-rashīd Sultān—for 'Abdu-r-rashīd is his correct or full name—for his ill-treatment of himself and friends, as he had been led to commit most of his misdeeds by one of his Amīrs, Muḥammadī by name, of the Burlās tribe of Mughals, whom he subsequently rid himself of, and repented of his misdeeds. When Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar wrote his work in 953 H. (1546 A.D.), he named it after 'Abdu-r-rashīd Sultān and styled it “*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*.”

ing it for eight months, Kāmṛān Mirzā arrived with an army from Lāhōr, defeated Sām Mirzā, and relieved the place.

I propose shortly to give the other valuable geographical details contained in Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar's work, respecting Turkistān and Mughalistān, and other matters. In case any one hereafter should avail himself of any of the information contained in this paper, it is to be hoped that it will be acknowledged.

The following brief account of the western part of Tibbat is from the observations of the Mir, 'Abdu-l-karīm, son of Mir Ismā'il, of Bukhārā, who was there in 1224 H. (1809 A.D.). He had gone the preceding year, in company with the Mirzā, Muḥammad Yūsuf, from Bukhārā, on a mission to Constantinople by way of Moscow. From his account we can gain some idea of the state of western Tibbat about the same time that the Hon'ble Mount-Stuart Elphinstone was at Peshāwar on his mission to Shāh Shuja'u-l-mulk, the Sadōzī ruler of the Afghān State. 'Abdu-l-karīm states, that:—

“ There are seven Tibbats, three of which are subject to Kash-mīr, and the other four are independent, and have a Rājā, that is to say, a Ruler, of their own. The most of the people of the Tibbats are followers of the faith of the Qalmāq [Qal-Ī-māq], Mānī, and some are *Majūs* [Magians]. Corn and provisions are scarce, and many of the people are very poor. Barley meal and flour of millet are obtainable. They give a daughter to ten husbands; and, if any one should take one of the people away and make a Musalmān of him, there is no hindrance. One Tibbat—Tibbat-i-Kalān [or Great Tibbat]—is parallel with Kash-mīr for fifteen stages. When a party of merchants make a purchase of *shāls*, they make up three or five parcels or packages into a bale or bundle, and as many bundles as there may be, they make over to the charge of Kash-mīrī porters hired for the purpose, who convey them on their shoulders, and reach Tibbat in fifteen days. As the route is difficult and mountainous, horses and mules cannot pass that way, and porters are hired upon all occasions. If a merchant so desires, he hires two men, who have small pads fastened to their shoulders; and he mounts the shoulders of one of them. The man takes hold of one foot of the merchant on one side, in front, and the other foot is towards the porter's back; and in this manner he goes along with ease and comfort. The other porter takes his turn to relieve the first, and in this manner they proceed on their way. \* \* \* \* Horses can go into Great Tibbat, and merchants avail themselves of them, and ride horses in going by that route.

“ When a *Kārwān* (*vul.* “caravan”) proceeds from Tibbat towards Yār-kand, which is a territory belonging to *Khiṭāe*, they have to pro-

ceed a distance of forty stages, through a part where there are neither inhabitants nor cultivation, and where neither firewood nor forage is procurable: only water can be obtained. It is a *kōhistān* (mountainous tract) black and arid, but one thing may be said in its favour, and that is, that highway robbers are not found in that part. People proceeding from Tibbat to Yār-kand, and *vice versâ*, take provisions for forty days along with them, such as bread, clarified butter, and flesh. In that mountainous solitude there are black crows, so that whenever a horse, through fatigue, lies down and falls asleep, these crows come upon the animal and peck out its eyes. There are also wolves, that, if they chance to find a man alone, they will attack and rend him. These crows, too, if they perceive a man through fatigue lying down, several of them collect about him and blind him, and after that devour him. The route is very rough and difficult, and besides this, an exhalation arises from the ground like unto the *samūm* [*vul.* "simoon"]. If a person should venture to move along somewhat quickly, this noxious vapour or exhalation, reaches his brain, and he becomes affected after the manner of people on board ship with sea-sickness. At times people die from its effects. Some apply garlic to the head, some smell it, sometimes lime-juice is taken, and the person affected recovers; but a great number of horses perish of that *samūm*.<sup>1</sup>

"At times it so happens, that a merchant has ten loads of goods, and takes with him twenty horses by way of precaution, to convey the goods, and barley, bread, and other necessary stores. By chance, the whole of his horses perish on the road [from this malady?]. The merchant then places his loads piled one over the other, in an open place, and covers them with mats or felts, and marks the place with a heap of stones. If the merchant is going from Tibbat to Yār-kand when such an accident befalls him, he comes on, with the persons along with him, to Yār-kand, purchases fresh horses, and goes back and fetches his property. If, on the other hand, he is going from Yār-kand to Tibbat when he has the misfortune to lose his horses, he considers which place is the nearest to him, and he proceeds thither, and brings on horses to carry the loads. If he should remain away for years, his goods sustain neither loss nor injury.

"In that mountainous part, there are cattle which they style *qūtās* (*yāk*), the tail of which is bushy like that of the fox, but very long, which they fasten to the head of their *tūghs*<sup>2</sup> or standards, which

<sup>1</sup> This, of course, is *dam-gīrī* already described by Mīrzā Haidar.

<sup>2</sup> The greater the number of *yāk* tails appended to the *tūgh* or standard, the greater the rank of the leader to whom it belonged. Thus we read in the old writers, in the wars between the Christians and the 'Uṣmānī Turks, about Pashās of so many

hang down like the hair of women. There are a number of these animals met with on this route; and in Tibbat they are domesticated in great numbers, and draw loads like as do buffaloes. The flesh and milk of these animals are very delicious. The writer of this, the humble Mir 'Abdu-l-karīm, Bukhārī, proceeded twice into Kash-mīr; once, when in his sixteenth year, from Hirāt, by Qandahār, Kābul, Peshāwar, and Muzaffar-ābād, and returned by this very route through Tibbat. On the other occasion, he proceeded from the territory of Bukhārā [and] from Sīmī-pūlād [Semipolatsk], which is the termination of the Masqō<sup>1</sup> [Moscow—Russian] territory in that direction, and by Īlah, Āq-sū, Kāshghar, Yār-kand, and Tibbat, to Kash-mīr, in 1224 H. (1809 A.D.), and returned from thence by the same route. On the way through Tibbat a calf of the *qūtās* was found asleep, and I killed it with a pistol; and the flesh was delicious. Those who go into Tibbat to purchase the *tibbat*, that is the *pashm* [wool] of the goats, which *pashm* is used in the manufacture of *shāls* in Kash-mīr, bring back zedoary (*curcuma zedoaria*) from thence along with them.

“The particulars respecting Tibbat are, that it is a very mountainous tract of country, lying between the countries of *Khiṭā* and *Hindūstān*. It is very long in extent from west to east, but much less in breadth, while its elevation is so great that its mountains throw their heads to the sky, and its routes are as hard as the hearts of misers. It is three months' journey [from the part of Tibbat referred to] to what they

tails; not that the *Pashās* were furnished with caudal appendages themselves, but their *tūghs* or standards.

In Rajab, 602 H., February, 1206 A.D., when the title of the Cingiz, or Great *Khān* was assigned to Timur-cī, at the *quriltāe*, or general assembly, held on that occasion, he set up a white *tūgh* or standard, consisting of nine degrees, or tails, indicated by as many tails of the *ghajz gaū* or *bos grunniens*; and he was seated on a high throne with a diadem on his head. Nine is the particularly venerated number among the *Mughals*, that being the number of the first nine chiefs of their *ī-māq* before the general massacre of the *Mughal* people by the *Tattār ī-māq*. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, page 881.

<sup>1</sup> The author in mentioning *Rusīah* and *Rusīān* (Russians) says, in one place in his work, respecting the distance intervening between their territory and *Ūrganj* and *Bukhārā* at that time—just eighty-five years ago—that, “the difficulties by the way, the scarcity of water, firewood, and provisions, and the cold and snow of winter, and excessive heat of summer, are such, that the *Rusīān*, in consequence, have no desire or inclination in that direction [in which he, like many others, was much mistaken], the Almighty God, having, of His Mercy, placed thereby between the people of *Islām* and the *Yājūj*-like *Rusīān* [referring to *Yājūj Mājūj*—*Gog* and *Magog*], an *Alexandrian* barrier, otherwise those parts possessed neither the power nor the energy to withstand the armies of those infidels.”

At the period in question the *Russians* were otherwise engaged.



call Lāmbah [Lhasā?], where is the temple or place of worship of the people of Qalmāq [Qal-Ī-māq], and an assemblage of Brahmāus [! Buddhists he must mean]. Some relate that the *tābūt* [bier or coffin] of Mānī, the Naqqāsh,<sup>1</sup> is preserved there. This territory of Lāmbah is in the possession of the Bādshāh of Khiṭā; and in it dwell people who are nomads, and live in *khargāhs* [felt tents] in the open country and uncultivated tracts, who possess a vast number of sheep and goats. Their goats are of large size, and their *pashm* abundant, like unto the sheep of this country [the country where he wrote]. In the month of *tir* [June], the shepherds dig up *zedoary* from the ground in the mountains and wilds; and rhubarb, and *māmirān* [a root yielding a yellow dye] are also brought from that part. There is a class of people, who having clubbed together, go out into the different mountain districts of this territory with their sheep, and from every here and there buy up the *tibbat* or *pashm* of the goats, from half a *huqqah* (a fardel or parcel) to ten *huqqahs*, and purchase the male goats also that the natives have to sell. Having put the *pashm* into saddle-bags, they fasten them on to their sheep; and in this way, in the course of two months, collecting *pashm* from different places, they manage to load a thousand sheep or more.”

<sup>1</sup> The name of a celebrated painter who lived in the time of Ārd-shīr, but some say, and more correctly so, in the time of Bahrām Shāh, ruler of Īrān Zamīn, and who appeared in the world after the time of our Saviour upon earth, and gave himself out to be an apostle, upon which Hurmūz Shāh, son of Bahrām, put him to death.

Another account is, that Mānī appeared in the world in the middle of the third century, and gave out that he was the paraclete or comforter promised by our Lord Jesus Christ, and soon founded a numerous sect. The ruler of Īrān Zamīn ordered him to be seized, upon which he fled into the country of the Turks (which includes Mughals and Tattārs). His religion was a mixture of Magian, Hindū, and Christian tenets; and among his followers were even Christian patriarchs and bishops. His sect were, from his name, known in Europe as Manicheans.

